

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

AN EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY 1920-47



AIJAZ AHMAD



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(An Educational and Political History 1920-1947)

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*IN MEMORY OF MY
MATERNAL GRAND FATHER*

PREFACE

As this book is intended for the general reader I have tried, as far as possible, to explain the facts in a very simple way. In this preface I have given a detailed introduction of this book and explained the aims and purpose for which I wrote this book.

After the shocks of 1857 it was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who realised the Muslim dilemma of backwardness. He rightly reached the conclusion that the Indian Muslims were educationally, socially, politically and economically backward and that the panacea of all the evils lies in persuading them to receive western education. For achieving these objectives he founded an institution for imparting English education to the Muslims in 1875. Which later on in 1877 came to be known as Mohammanan Anglo Oriental College. With the efforts of Sir Syed's followers, this college was raised to the status of Aligarh Muslim University in 1920. Being educational reformer, in the interest of the Muslim community his political attitude was quite reactionary as he advised the Muslims not to take part in politics in view of the lessons of 1857 and nascent educational reform movement.

When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and an appeal was made to the Indians of all cast and communities to join the Congress, Sir Syed guided the Muslim community not to join the politics because he thought that at this stage when the Muslims need to be equipped with western education that too with the cooperation of the British government, their participation in politics may prove to ruinous to them. The Muslims who had received a shock treatment after 1857 could not afford another shock. He visualised Muslims ameliorations in close ties with the British.

After the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1898, the Muslims were compelled to turn towards active politics. In 1906 a few Muslim leaders contributed to the formation of the All India Muslim League. The purpose was not to oppose the British but work for the safeguards of the Muslim interests in view of the growing demand of the Congress. The changed scenario led to the involvement of Aligarh Muslim University in politics, though divided on ideological basis.

About life and works of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan most of his associates and historians have written a number of books and articles.

The first and foremost among these works is the *Hayat-i-Javed* of Altaf Husain Hali. He was a close associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. In his book he has written in detail every aspect of Sir Syed's life such as educational, political, social, religious etc.

Prof. H.K Sherwani in his book *The Aligarh Movement* has defended Sir Syed's ideology and stated his secular attitude by saying that in the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental School H.G.I. Siddon was Headmaster and Bhavani Chandra Chakravarti was the Second Master when the foundation of the College was laid by Lord Lytton in 1877. He also says that alongwith the Muslim donors to the institution Sikh and Hindu donors such as Maharaja of Patiala, Maharaja of Vijayanagar and Maharaja of Banaras were in the fore. Sherwani also admits the hard fact that the change in the political outlook of Sir Syed from 'nationalism' to 'communalism' (whatever these epithet might mean) was brought by the influence of Theodore Beck who was the Principal of MAO College from February 1884 to his death in September 1899.

Prof. Shan Mohammad in his book *Sir syed Ahmad Khan: A political Biography* also testifies to the secular attitude of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan by referring to the first batch of MAO School who appeared in matriculation examination consisting of three Muslims viz., Mahboob Alam, Ishrat Husain and Abdul Majid and one Hindu student Harnath Singh. He also points out why did Sir Syed adopt a different attitude after the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Suraya Husain in her book *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan Aur Unka Ahad* also admits the same.

S.K Bhatnagar in his book *History of the MAO College Aligarh* proves Sir Syed's love for Hindu-Muslim unity and secularism. He observes, : "Co-existence of Hindus and Muslims in the college on terms of equality continued to operate effectively throughout the life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his faith of secularism never dimmed." K.A. Nizami in his book *Sir Syed on Education Society and Economy* also expresses the same opinion about Sir Syed and MAO College. M.S. Jain in his book *The Aligarh Movement* gives entirely a different picture about Sir Syed and MAO College. He says that Sir Syed's efforts and the college was basically for the Muslims. He further says. " The college was such an institution as would suit not only to the present but also to the future needs of the Muslim community." Jain by quoting *Aligarh Institute Gazette* says that the most important object of the college was to bring about the better understanding between Muslims and the Englishmen.

The institution was no doubt meant of the Muslims as it was the need of the time. But his attitude towards other communities was based on tolerance. This has been testified by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Jawahar Lal Nehru in the Autobiography admired the works of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the following words "Syed's decision to concentrate on western education for Muslims was undoubtedly a right one, without that they could not have played any effective part in the building up of Indian nationalism." In his another book *The Discovery of India* Pt. Nehru says about Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, "He was not opposed to Indian National Congress because he considered it predominantly a Hindu organisation, he opposed it because he thought it was politically too aggressive and he wanted British help and cooperation----he was in no way anti -Hindu or communally separatist."

Prof. Mujeeb Ashraf in his book *Hayat-ul-Bashir* has written the life and works of Maulvi Bashiruddin, a close associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan . In this book Prof. Ashraf has thrown some light on the educational and political trends as developed in MAO College during the life time of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan as well as after his death. He has touched upon the contribution of various prominent Muslims to the AMU and role of Educational Conference in the making of great institution.

Another historian Sita Ram Singh in his presidential address of the Indian History Congress (54th Session 1992, Mysore) comments about Sir Syed that before 1885 he was the ardent supporter of the Hindu-Muslim unity. He quotes Sir Syed's words, "Now both of us live on the air of India, drink the holy water of Ganga and Yamuna, we both feed upon the products of the Indian soil.....we both belong to the same country, we are a nation....." Sita Ram says that after the formation of the Indian National Congress his whole attitude was changed. He believed and declared that the political interests of the Hindus and Muslims were not only different but also opposite. He then spoke of the Hindus and Muslims that they are not only the two nations but two warring nations who could not lead a common political life if once the British retired from India.

From all the statements it becomes clear that most of the historians has admired his movement. But a few of them even go to the extent to prove him a man with secular outlook. In his social mission no doubt he was so but when come to deal with political issues he tends to show his communal leanings. This is another matter that by then his utmost concern was the well being of the Muslim community in India. It is because of this the works like M.S. Jain etc. reach to the conclusion that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan possessed a separatist and communal outlook.

This work "Aligarh Muslim University : An Educational and Political History 1920-47" deals with a very crucial phase of the Indian

Freedom Movement. The Aligarh loyalists or the true follower of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan devoted all their time and energy to get the charter of Aligarh Muslim University, to get government grants, to open different departments of study and also provide government jobs to their students. But there was another section of AMU which advocated national and secular ideas. They devoted their full energy and strength in the Indian National Movement. They invited the reputed National leaders in AMU and mobilised and encouraged the students for freedom struggle. Most of the old boys and staff members also contributed to the national movement.

But surprisingly so far no book has been written on the educational and political developments in AMU from 1920 onwards. It is this gap which I have intended to fillup by writing this book. The sources on the subject are wide spread which have facilitated to complete this book. Among the contemporary sources the life sketch of the prominent personalities needs to be reviewed here shortly.

Habibullah Khan has written the biography of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan with the name of *Hayat-i-Aftab*. In his book he has covered particularly the contribution of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan to the AMU both as Vice Chancellor and as well wisher of the university. In the book he has emphasised the jubilee celebrations of he AMU and differences between Pro- Vice Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin and Vice Chancellor Aftab Ahmad Khan. The Rahmatullah Enquiry Report has also very widely discussed.

Another scholar Mohd Amin Zuberi has written the life sketch of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad *Zia-i-Hayat*. This book is very important because it covers the whole period from Dr. Ziauddin's Principalship of the MAO College to his last term as Vice Chancellorship of AMU upto 1947. It describes how Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad devoted his whole life to the institution and proved himself a real successor of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He made many changes in the carriculum of AMU and opened different departments in the university. The differences between Sahibzada and Dr. Ziauddin have also been discussed in detail. Dr. Ziauddin himself has written a book named *Bayan* in which he has discussed his experiences.

Another associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was Shaikh Abdullah(Aligarh) who had devoted his whole life for the women's education and established Women's College in Aligarh. He has written a book *Mushahidat-o-Taassurat* in which he has discussed all his efforts regarding women's education in Aligarh . He also served AMU in various capacities. Another scholar Shamsur Rahman Muhsini has written about Shaikh Abdullah named *Hayat-i-Abdullah*. In this book he has covered the contribution of Shaikh Abdullah to both the

AMU and Women's College. The differences among Shaikh Abdullah, Dr. Ziauddin and Sir Ross Masood have also been discussed in detail.

A careful scrutiny of these works has enabled me to throw new light on educational and political issues faced by AMU during the proposed period so far ignored. The contemporary English and Urdu newspapers, confidential files from Aligarh Library, registers, reports, proceedings, magazines and journals from Lucknow and Delhi Archives have been duly utilised.

Among the main chapters, first two chapters deals with the educational developments in AMU. The other two chapters attempts to throw light on the political role of AMU in the national movement.

The first chapter "Educational Progress in Aligarh till 1920" deals with introduction of Aligarh Movement; establishment of AMU, its Acts and provisions. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had a dream that the MAO College would develop into a university. After his death in 1898 his friends and followers started a movement to set up a university at Aligarh. They collected the required money and send the proposal to the government to grant the charter for the proposed AMU. Due to the World War I and controversy about the affiliation powers of the university, the movement had to be stopped in the midway. But at the time when Khilafat and Non Cooperation movements were launched, the government found an opportunity to woo the Muslims from the national platform by granting them the charter of the AMU at the end of 1920. Its Act was different from that of the Banaras Hindu University. The AMU Court was given enormous powers.

The chapter also includes the establishment of Jamia Millia Islamia. This university was an off shoot of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements. Ali brothers and Gandhiji arrived in Aligarh in 1920 to convince the MAO College authorities about their programme. On refusal of the college authorities, they founded an independent national university at Aligarh which was known as Jamia Millia Islamia. It later on shifted to Delhi.

The second chapter "Educational development in AMU 1920-47" deals with educational pattern, culture and traditions of AMU; expansion of the university; crisis in the university and origin and development of the Women's College. In this chapter the culture and traditions of AMU have been very widely discussed. This chapter, at the end, comes out with an interesting note on the social life of the students residing in the hostels particularly the cordial equation between Hindu students and Muslim students. The Hindu students took pride in having absorbed in the tradition and culture of the AMU.

When the AMU started functioning, many new departments of study were created. With the efforts of Dr. Ziauddin, Aftab Ahmad

Khan and Sir Ross Massod, many appointments were made to run the full-fledged departments and grants were collected for that purpose. In 1925 in order to popularise the university among the Indians, particularly among the Indian Muslims, the silver jubilee celebrations of university were observed. Many political and educational organisations were also invited to hold their sessions as part of the university's silver jubilee celebrations due to which the celebrations proved a grand success. In addition to this enormous fund was collected to start new departments of studies in the AMU. A separate fund was collected for the establishment of the Engineering and Medical Colleges in AMU.

AMU faced a great crisis during the late twenties as a result of the differences among the AMU authorities, who were true followers of Sir Syed. They were all dedicated and did their best for the welfare of the university in their own way, but lacked harmony of ideas. This led to mutual jealousy leading to a cold war among them. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad PVC of the AMU was the main target of a group who were very critical of his ways. A committee was appointed to enquire into the working of Dr. Ziauddin. This committee came to be known as Rahmatullah Enquiry Committee. A few months later the committee submitted its report and finally Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was asked to resign from his post.

Towards the end of this chapter women's education in AMU has been thoroughly discussed. A great effort was made to educate the Muslim girls in Aligarh. It was a revolutionary step because the Muslims in general were rigid and orthodox. They were not prepared to send their daughters to English schools and boardings. But Shaikh Abdullah by his herculean efforts transformed the dream of education to Muslim girl into reality and boarding school was started with enough strength of the girl students. Later on this school developed into a college.

The third chapter is devoted to "AMU's contribution to Indian national movement from 1920 to 1937". In the beginning of this chapter the political developments in Aligarh before 1920 have been discussed. In this section political ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, formation of Muslim League and anti-British feelings in Aligarh are discussed in short. This chapter also throws light on the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements in Aligarh; Congress and Muslim League influences in AMU; impact of communal tensions in Aligarh; role of AMU in national politics and the role of the alumni in many political developments.

The Khilafat committees were set up on provincial and central level with a view to boycott British goods. The movement also

embarked upon complete non-cooperation with the British government. Gandhiji and other national leaders saw in it a golden opportunity to mobilize the Indian Muslims into the nationalist fold. Mahatma Gandhi who presided over the Khilafat Committee appealed to the Hindus to cooperate with their Muslim brethren in their movements. This movement was greatly helped in bringing about unity between the Hindus and Muslims in India.

Since long it was the general belief that Aligarh played a negative role in the national movement but this chapter of the present study proves that almost all Aligarh old boys spread all over India and abroad and carried their national programmes to oust the Britishers from India. They extended their cooperation to the political parties like, Congress, Muslims League, Khilafat Party, Swaraj Party, Communist Party etc.

The fourth chapter deals with "Political activities in Aligarh from 1937 to 1947". This chapter consists of an critical study of the reactions of AMU authorities and Student's Union to Muslim League, responses to the Congress and British policies, activities of political parties and groups in AMU, responses of the AMU community over the demand for Pakistan] partition of India and its reaction in Aligarh University.

1940 was the year when Pakistan resolution was passed by Muslim League. This resolution further forced the League leaders to motivate Muslim masses in favour of the movement for Pakistan. They toured throughout India and delivered speeches, especially in educational institutions to mobilize the Muslim support. They also tried to motivate the AMU students and received a positive response. The Congress also tried to bring the students in their favour but except a handful of students no one paid any attention to whatever they said.

The Muslim League was successful in opening its branches in Aligarh city and in AMU. Even the children of Aligarh formed 'Bachcha Muslim League'. These organisations passed many resolutions supporting Pakistan Movement and expressing their faith in Mr. Jinnah and his leadership. Mr. Jinnah succeeded in keeping his hold on the Muslim University. Their resolutions confirm their strong faith and support in Jinnah and to his demand for Pakistan.

In 1946, under a proposal of the Cabinet Mission, the Interim government was formed by the Congress and only after much persuasion Jinnah agreed to nominate a few members to the Interim government. The purpose seems to serve as deterrent to Congress programmes. Because the League by now had the only demand that of Pakistan for which only a few months back he had given the call for 'Direct Action' to achieve the objective. The direct action day

was followed by communal riots, first in Bengal and in the rest of India afterwards. Even after joining the Interim government by the Muslim League, the communal riots did not stop. After much opposition of Gandhiji the Congress accepted the partition plan, and the impossible dream of Mr. Jinnah became a reality. AMU, though a strong hold of Mr. Jinnah, found itself in a state of shock when the country was partitioned, perhaps, even Jinnah had not thought to get it in his life time.

The above resume would help the reader in forming the general idea of the main contents of the book as also of the line of thought and approach adopted by author in attempting a descriptive, analytical and critical account of the educational and political history of the Aligarh Muslim University.

In the last I feel it my pleasant duty to acknowledge the kindness, advice and help which I received from my teachers, colleagues and friends without whose encouragement, moral support and active co-operation, this work would not have been possible. I am grateful to my parents and other family members for their kind support and constant encouragement. I am indebted to my colleagues and close friends for their cooperation in completion of this book.

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(AIJAZ AHMAD)
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EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN ALIGARH TILL 1920

Aligarh Movement : An Introduction

The Aligarh Movement was an effort of Muslim awakening by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He felt that the Muslim community in order to take its rightful place in the country, it was absolutely necessary to undertake an all embracing reform including religious belief and practices, social life and education, manners and customs etc. He wanted to make all Muslims realise the significance of the age and take up challenge of the time. This movement was necessary because the Muslims suffered from the depressing feelings that they had lost political power forever and were in danger for losing their culture and civilization. They were frustrated and lacked the sense of direction and aspiration. Sir Syed had the example of Wahabi Movement and 1857 revolt before him that this anti British trend did not last long. So he stressed more to improve the relation between Muslims and the government and by this effort government adopted the policy of paternalism towards the Muslims.

The most important aspect of this movement was to educate the Muslim community. Before getting transferred to Aligarh in 1864 Sir Syed established a primary school at Moradabad in 1858. Its subjects of study were Urdu, English and Persian.¹ In 1862 he got transferred to Ghazipur and there he established Victoria School to promote education among his people.²

In Aligarh his work gained a further momentum. There he conceived the idea of establishing a college for imparting modern education to the Muslims. For this purpose he formed the "Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College Fund Committee" in 1870 for the purpose of collecting required money. He started his work with the establishment of a school 'Madarsatul Uloom Musalmanane' in Aligarh which was inaugurated on 24th May 1875, on the occasion of the birthday of Queen Victoria. The school was affiliated to the Calcutta University for the matriculation examination. Its first batch of four students, Mahboob Alam, Harnath Singh, Ishrat Husain and Abdul Majid appeared in the matriculation examination and were declared

passed.³ Mr. H.G.I. Siddon an Englishman, was appointed as the first Headmaster and Mr. Baijnath prasad was appointed as Second Master.⁴ On 8th January 1877, the Viceroy Lord Lytton laid the foundation stone of Mohammanan Anglo Oriental College.⁵

Initially the orthodox Muslims were not ready for modern education and they thought that it would convert them into Christianity. The government of India also drawn its attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the Muslim education. Governor General in Council directed the local governments to inquire why Musalmans refrained from availing themselves of the education offered by the State.⁶ In these circumstances Sir Syed worked very hard to mobilize the Indian Muslims in favour of the modern education.

The college continued to be affiliated to the Calcutta University until 1877 when it got to be affiliated to the newly founded Allahabad University.⁷ It was partly financed by the British government. The College was based on Oxford and Cambridge Universities in education and religious practices. Its medium of instruction was English. About the religious practices in the college, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan once said, "just as the students of Oxford and Cambridge have to visit the church and attend the prayer regularly...the students will have to offer the congregational prayer five times a day."⁸ He also said that they would all eat, play and study at fixed times.⁹ He considered an education without religious instruction to be a body without soul.¹⁰

Although MAO College was founded primarily for Muslims, it openly welcomed Hindu students both as day scholars and as a boarders. Commenting on the secular atmosphere at the MAO College, S.K. Bhatnagar writes: "Co- existence of Hindus and Muslims in the college on terms of equality continued to operate effectively throughout the life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his faith in secularism was never dimmed."¹¹

Instead of providing modern education to the Muslims, the most important object of the college was the improving of understanding between the English and Muslims.¹² The college was such an institution as would suit not only the present but also the future needs of the Muslim community.¹³

While emphasising the future needs of Muslim community he said : " If you wish to attain honour, prosperity and high position, strive your interest to acquire high English education which is the only means for your real improvement. Your case is hopeless until you educate yourselves highly and learn to value of self reliance, self control and self help."¹⁴

Sir Syed Amhad Khan faced the orthodox Muslim society very boldly. They attacked Sir Syed by spreading different types of rumour.

Many *fatwas* were circulated declaring him a *kafir*; he was called *naturi* (believing in nature blindly), and an agnostic, an atheist and a *dajjal* and all sorts of bad names were associated with him.¹⁵ Actually in Muslim society English education was considered to be hateful and regarded as dangerous to the Islamic faith. Akbar Allahabadi had expressed his opinion about the new Aligarh culture in the following couplet:

*Aiman bechne pe hain sab tule huye
Lakin kharid ho jo Aligarh ke bhao se.*

(all are now bend upon selling their faith only if it is bought at the rate fixed by Aligarh).

In 1886 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded the All India Mohammadan Educational Congress to popularise the education particularly western education among the Indian Muslims.¹⁶ But in 1890 the word “Congress” was replaced by “Conference”.¹⁷ In fact he was totally against the Muslim entry into politics, his only first and last aim was to educate the Muslims. To Sir Syed the question of English education was essential to strengthen the mental faculties, get government jobs and improve the social, political and economic conditions of the people. By quoting Jawahar Lal Nehru “Syed’s decision to concentrate on western education for Muslims was undoubtedly a right one , without that they could not have played any effective part in the building up of Indian nationalism”.¹⁸

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was patron of Hindu- Muslim unity, a pure nationalist and a man of secular out look. It is very essential to quote his speech of 27th January 1873 to prove his nationalist ideology and secular thinking. He declared, “To be Hindu or a Muslim is a matter of inner faith and belief. It was nothing to do with the worldly matters and mutual social intercourse. India belongs to both of us (Hindu and Muslim). Both of us breath the air of India and in equal measure drink the waters of Ganga and Yamuna. We share the happiness and sorrows of birth and death in an equal degree. Socially and culturally we have given to, and taken from each other. We have evolved a common language Urdu. We, by virtue of living in the same country are one nation”.¹⁹ In an article entitled ‘Hindu-Muslim Relations’ he wrote, “I have frequently said that India is a beautiful bride and Hindus and Muslims are the two eyes. Her beauty lies in the proper safety of these two eyes. If one of them is lost, this beautiful bride will become ugly and one eyed... In my opinion, the differences of religion as it exists between Hindus and Muslims can not be an obstacle in their intercourse and sympathy for each other. Likewise, the political differences also can not be an obstacle in maintaining close relations between the two.. without any doubt, as I want friendship, unity and

love between the two communities inspite of religious distinction, similarly I want mutual cooperations, love sympathy and brotherhood specially without minding the political differences.”²⁰

Sir Syed appealed to the Indian people to unite together. In a speech at Lahore in 1873 he said, “ I wish that all men irrespective of their religion and community may unite together for commonweal. Our religions are undoubtedly different but there is no reason for enmity among us on this account.”²¹ About the cow slaughter he said, “I have repeatedly given my community to understand that it is a folly to annoy our Hindu brothers by resorting to cow- slaughter. If friendship can be established between us, then this is far better than cow slaughter.”²²

No doubt Sir Syed in his whole life worked for the betterment of the Muslim community but the other communities of India and the nation got a lot of inspiration from him. He died in 1898 but his work of the movement was carried on by his friends and pupils like Nawab Muhsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Sir Agha Khan etc. They continued the movement including a new move to found a Muslim University at Aligarh.

Sir Syed was succeeded by his son Syed Mahmud but in 1899 he gave way to Nawab Muhsinul Mulk the right hand man of Sir Syed.²³ He also followed secular and unbiased policy of Sir Syed. During his Secretaryship he started Sir Syed Memorial Fund to solve the monetary problems of the college. He also encouraged Duty Society which was set up in 1890 for collection of funds for granting scholarship to the poor students. From 1907-12 the college developed under the Secretaryship of Nawab Viqarul Mulk.²⁴

Establishment of AMU

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan conceived the idea of establishing a vernacular university in 1869, which he abandoned after his visit to England.²⁵ He decided to lay foundation of an educational institution which could fulfil the demand of the time and scenario, scientific modern education being the need of the day. The dream of establishing a university could not be transformed into reality during his life-time. After his death the alumni of the M.A.O. College, the college management and the well-wishers of the Muslim community launched a movement for establishing a Muslim University.²⁶

It is noteworthy that the British government was playing a double game and using the sentiments of the Muslims of north India who were keen for the establishment of a university for the Muslims. On the eve of the visit of King George V to India in 1911, the British government of India asked Hindus and Muslims to raise a sum of Rs.

30 lakhs for obtaining charter for the university.²⁷ But a little later the government changed its stand on the questions of affiliating the colleges and the word "Muslim" of the name of Aligarh Muslim University.²⁸ The changed attitude of the government caused great setback to the university movement. So the attitude of Muslims about their loyalty to the British government to some extent changed over the years and new section of nationalists stood against the government.²⁹

The outbreak of the World War-I and the Turkey's stand against the British and its allies adversely affected the campaign for a Muslim University. After the termination of the Ist World War, a session of the Muslim University Association was held in Aligarh on 15th October, 1919 in order to accelerate the Muslim University campaign.³⁰

The passage of the Act of 1919, placed the university education under the control of the provincial government. This shattered completely the perception of the protagonists of the university. By and large they were of the view that the Muslim University after its establishment would enjoy an all India status and would be out of reach of provincial government.³¹ Fortunately Sir Mohammad Shafi, the old boy of the M.A.O. College was serving as the education member in the Viceroy's Council. He came to Aligarh and had a discussion with Mr. Sharp (Secretary, Department of Education) and Dr. Wali Ahmad (Asstt. Secretary, Department of Education) on 23rd and 24th March, 1920. As a result of these discussions a few amendments were made in the proposed constitution of the university. These amendments were approved by the Muslim University Association. The Honorary Secretary published a statement : "This constitution is more liberal than the constitution of the Hindu University and the Decca University and there is no hope to get a better constitution than this."³²

The supporters of the foundation of the Muslim University felt that the proposed university bill should be delayed until the situation became favourable for its placement before the Central Legislative Council.³³ The proposed Muslim University constitution was, thereafter, sent to the Indian government in July 1920. The Secretary of State for India approved the Muslim University constitution.³⁴ In the meantime Syed Mohammad Ali, Secretary of the M.A.O. College and Muslim University Association was given the additional membership of the Central Legislative Council so that he could represent the bill whenever introduced.³⁵

The post war situation cemented the mutual understanding among the Muslims League, Congress and the Khilafat Committee leaders. The special session the Indian National Congress held in September 1920 was also significant for the reason that the Muslim League and

the Khilafat leaders were present there in strength. Sir Mohammad Shafi and other Aligarh loyalists considered it an opportunity to put the AMU bill in the Central Legislative Council calculating that the government would amen.³⁶ The AMU bill was thus introduced in the council and came up for discussion, Syed Mohammad Ali defending the bill delivered a memorable speech. A excerpt is being given below:

“It is nearly 10 years ago that Mohammadans were first promised their university. My Lord, Aligarh was the first institution in this country which followed the best residential system of the public schools of England. It is the matter of history that the Banaras constitution was modelled on the lines of proposed constitution of Aligarh and that of Decca does not introduce any new ideas except slight changes in the nomenclature.”

“Even since the first definite proposals for the university were made, the whole controversy has mainly centered round two points firstly the extent of jurisdiction of the university and secondly, the government control. About the first, the Muslim community was compelled to accept that there would be no room in future for affiliating type of university but about the latter community favoured autonomous university.”

“My Lord without real power there can be no sense of responsibility and without responsibility there can be no efficiency.”³⁷

The report of the Select Committee was placed in the Indian Legislative Council on 2nd September 1920.³⁸ On 9th September 1920, Sir Mohammad Shafi spoke, “Sir, after having a careful study of the Indian political conditions, I have arrived at conclusion that the backwardness of this community was due to their neglect of modern education....”³⁹

The British government in India was facing a serious threat from the nationalists and the joint Khilafat-Noncooperation movement had caused great concern to the British authorities in India. The government thought it wise to keep the loyalist elements happy by granting the fulfilment of their demands. So the bill when introduced in the council, was passed and the government of India assured an yearly aid of one lakh of rupees.⁴⁰ His Excellency the Viceroy, congratulated the Muslim community on the passage of the bill.⁴¹ The Honourable Sir D.P. Sarbadhikari said : “Sir, I congratulate my Muslim fellow subjects upon ‘the appointed time’ having arrived, upon the approaching materialization of an educational organization of their own for which they have long been waiting....”⁴² Honourable Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee also congratulated on the passage of the bill.⁴³

AMU Act

After the passage of the bill the MAO College attained the status of a university under AMU Act of 1920. The AMU Act came into force from 1st December 1920. It gave many powers to the university. The university now could provide instructions in such branches of learning as it might think fit and make provisions for research and for advancement, and dissemination of knowledge.⁴⁴ Under the Act the university was empowered to promote oriental and Islamic studies and give instruction in Muslim theology and religion and to impart moral and physical training.⁴⁵ It had been given the right to hold examination and to grant and confer degrees and other academic distinctions. The Act also empowered the university to confer honorary degrees or other distinctions on approved persons and grant diplomas. The university was authorised to appoint Professors, Readers, Lecturers and other posts as required by it. It was empowered to institute and award fellowships, scholarships, exhibitions and prizes in accordance with statutes and ordinances.⁴⁶

The University Act of 1920 also empowered the university to institute and maintain halls for the residence of the students of the university, demand and receive fees and other charges as might be prescribed by the ordinances, and to supervise and control the residence and discipline of students and make arrangements for promoting their health. The Act of 1920 also gave freedom to the university to provide and promote arts, science and other branches of learnings including professional studies, technology, Islamic learnings and Muslim theology, and to promote interests of its students.⁴⁷

One of the most important things was the finances and its proper control. The Act clearly provided that the university would function under the Act and it would be open to all persons of either sex and of whatever race creed or class. All recognised teachings would include lecturing, laboratory work and other teaching conducted in the university by the teachers in accordance with the syllabus prescribed. The recognised teachers would also include tutorial instructions.⁴⁸ According to the Act, the university also had power to establish and maintain Intermediate colleges and schools within the limits of Aligarh district, instruction in the Muslim religion and theology might also be provided in such colleges and schools.⁴⁹

As far as the admission to the university was concerned, all admissions were to be made by committee, consisting of the Pro-Vice Chancellor, the Principal of an Intermediate College who would be selected by the Vice Chancellor and other officials appointed by the Academic Council.⁵⁰ The Academic Council would appoint Examination Committee consisting of members of its own body or of

the other persons or of both. The committee was to moderate examination questions, prepare the results of the examinations and to report such results to the Executive Council for publication.⁵¹

Another important rule of the university was that every salaried officer or teacher of the university and any of its officers or teachers, would be referred to a tribunal of arbitration consisting of one member appointed by the Executive Council, one member nominated by the officer or teacher concerned and an umpire appointed by the Visiting Board. The decision of the tribunal would be final and no suit would lie in any civil court. The university was also empowered to constitute, for the benefit of its officers, teachers and servants, such provident and pension funds as it might think fit.⁵²

The Act of 1920 had the provision of a Court, to act as supreme governing body of the university and to exercise all the powers of the university. The Court was empowered to review the acts of the Executive, and Academic Councils and direct them for necessary action in accordance with the recommendations of the Lord Rector. The Court was however to function within the framework of the provisions of the Act in :

- (a) making statutes and amending or repealing it
- (b) considering the ordinances
- (c) considering and passing resolutions on the annual report, the annual accounts and the financial estimates
- (d) electing the persons to serve on authorities of the university and of appointing the officers.⁵³

The composition of the Court was defined by the Act. It consisted of the Chancellor, the Pro Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor for time being, and other persons. But no person other than a Muslim would get the membership.⁵⁴ It was provided that the Court would meet once in a year on the date fixed by the Vice Chancellor. But by requisition in writing signed by at least 30 members of the Court, the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to commence a special meeting. But as far as the quorum was concerned it was of 25 members.⁵⁵

As is was too large body to meet frequently, its executive powers were delegated to an Executive Council, consisting of not more than 30 members. Four of them were ex-officio members viz. Vice Chancellor, Pro-Vice Chancellor, the Principle of an Intermediate College and Treasurer. Six persons were elected by the Academic Council and the rest by the Court. The elected members were to hold office for three years.

It was necessary that at least eleven members of the Executive Council were present in the meeting or form a quorum. The Executive Council was to administer their revenue and property of the university,

regulate the finances, accounts and investments and perform all such duties and acts as could be necessary for the business of the university.⁵⁶

The Executive Council had the power to make and vary investment, purchase, accept and sell movable and immovable property. It had also the responsibility to maintain the buildings, premises, furniture and apparatus needed for the work of the university.⁵⁷

The Executive Council also had the power to grant leaves to officers, teachers and servants and deal with their grievances, it was also to see that a register of donors of the university was maintained. Since the founder of the M.A.O College had understood the importance of press for publication of books, college magazines, this tradition was retained and the Executive Council was made responsible to maintain the university press. The Executive Council also had power to consider the recommendation of the Academic Council in regard to the fixation of fees and charges payable by the students, payments of the fees and allowances of examiners, moderators and other persons engaged in the university examination work. The Executive Council was also to manage the Intermediate College and schools maintained by the university.⁵⁸

Apart from the powers to the Executive Council, the Act also defined as to how the Academic Council was to function. Under the provisions of the Act the Academic Council was to consist of the Vice Chancellor, the Pro Vice Chancellor, the Chairpersons of the department of studies, the Librarian, the Proctor, two persons elected by the Court, two persons nominated by the Visiting Board, and five persons co-opted by the Academic Council, two of whom at least could be head of the halls, two Professors or Readers and one person not engaged in the teaching in the university. Eleven members of the Academic Council were to form a quorum and members other than ex-officio members were to hold office for three years.⁵⁹

The powers of the Academic Council were defined as under-

- (1) to arrange and supervise the work of education in the university
- (2) to recommend to the Executive Council the creation and abolition of posts in the educational and tutorial staff;
- (3) to fix the time, mode and terms of competition for fellowships, scholarships, studentships, medals, prizes and awards;
- (4) to conduct the examinations and publish the results in the University Gazette;
- (5) to have entire charge of the discipline of the students in the university;
- (6) to publish and revise lists of prescribed and recommended books and prescribe syllabi in consultation with the departments of studies;

(7) to appoint library committee and publish the University Gazette.

These provisions were with the exception of department of Theology whose proceedings were subject to the approval of the Executive Council.⁶⁰

The Act of 1920 also defined the functioning of the departments of studies. The provisions made to run the departments were by and large uniform. It is interesting to note that the Act of 1920 provided the 'selection' of the Chairman of the departments from amongst the Readers and Professors who were to hold office for three years. This provision was totally different from the existing one, when a Chairman of the university was elevated to that position by right of seniority and not by selection. The departments of studies recommended to the Academic Council, courses and syllabi of studies and text books, fellowships, scholarships, studentships, medals and prizes, in the subject with which it was concerned.⁶¹

The Act of 1920 made the university an autonomous body but the government had retained some powers in authorities like Lord Rector and Rectors. Governor General of India was to act as Lord Rector of the university. He had the right to order an inspection of the university or get it done by some persons appointed by him. But in every case he was supposed to give notice to the university which had the right to be represented by a responsible person. The Lord Rector could address the Vice Chancellor with reference to the result of such inspection and enquiry. The Vice Chancellor was to communicate to the Court the views of Lord Rector with the advice as the Lord Rector might have given. The Court was to communicate through the Vice Chancellor to the Lord Rector about the actions it proposed to take, as a result of such inspection and enquiry. If the Court did not take action within the reasonable time, the Lord Rector might issue such directions as he thought fit and the Court was bound to comply with those directions.⁶²

Next to the Lord Rector was the authority of Rector. The Rectors might be the persons from amongst the head of local governments, Princes and the rulers of the states in India. They were appointed by the Lord Rector on his own motion or on the recommendation of the Court. The Chancellor might also, on the recommendation of the Academic Council, appoint the persons of eminence as Rector.⁶³

According to the Act, another body of the university was the Visiting Board. It consisted of the Governor of U.P., members of the Executive Council, the Ministers, one member nominated by the Governor and one member nominated by Minister in charge of Education.⁶⁴ The visiting Board had been conferred extensive powers under the Act, such as to inspect the university and to satisfy itself

that the proceedings of the university were in conformity with the Act, Statutes and Ordinance, but not before giving a prior show cause notice to the university.⁶⁵

The AMU Act of 1920 made provisions for the smooth functioning of the university by providing a set of university functionaries or university officers. It saw to it that the hierarchy of the university officers was almost in accordance with other University Acts. According to the AMU Act five categories of the university officers were described. Of these officers, some were to be absolutely honorary and some were to be appointed on salary. The five categories of officers specified in the AMU Act of 1920 were:

- (a) The Chancellor
- (b) The Pro-Chancellor
- (c) The Vice Chancellor
- (d) The Pro-Vice Chancellor
- (e) Other officers appointed according to the Statutes of the Act to be officers of the university

The Act made provision for the Chancellor who was to be elected by the Court. Naturally he held an honorary position. The Chancellor was to preside over the convocations and meetings of the Court.⁶⁶ The tenure of the Chancellor was fixed for three years. Similarly the position of the Pro-Chancellor was honorary who was to hold office for three years after being elected by the Court.⁶⁷ In the absence of the Chancellor the Pro-Chancellor was to exercise the function of the Chancellor.⁶⁸

The Vice Chancellor was also to be elected by the Court and every election was subject to the approval of Governor General in Council and eligible for re-election. He was to preside meetings of the Court in the absence of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor and was an ex-officio Chairman of the Executive Council and Academic Council. He was also the sole medium of communication between

the university and the government.⁶⁹ The Pro-Vice Chancellor was appointed by the Court for a period of 5 years and was re-eligible. He was the principal academic officer of the university. He was the ex-officio members of the Executive Council and Academic Council. In the absence of the Vice Chancellor, he presided over the meetings of the Academic Council. He has also the power to convene meetings of the Academic Council.⁷⁰

The fifth category of officers included Treasurer, Registrar, Provost, Proctor and Librarian. The Treasurer was appointed by the Court. He was to exercise general supervision over the funds of the university and advise with regard to its financial policy.⁷¹

The Registrar was also appointed by the Court for five years. He

was the custodian of the records, the seal and other such property of the university, keep and maintain register of the registered graduates. He was also to attend the Academic and Executive Councils as their secretary.⁷² The Provosts were the boarding house officers. The Proctor was to look after the discipline of the students. The Librarian was incharge of university library.⁷³

Foundation of the Jamia Millia Islamia

The British attitude towards Khilafat and Turkey frustrated a section of the Muslims at the Aligarh. They decided to set up an independent national university in Aligarh for a national platform for the Muslim youths. Gandhiji and many Congress leaders extended their full support to them.

The existing MAO College was dominated by the loyalists. They had opposed every anti-government activity in the campus. The visit of Gandhiji in Aligarh on 12th October 1919 while campaigning for Khilafat & Non- Cooperation movements created a group of national volunteers amongst the college students. Gandhiji and his friends viz Ali brothers requested the college authorities to give up the government aid. Failing to reach any agreement with the college authorities they decided to establish a national university for the students who has decided to leave the college for the national cause.

On 28th October 1920, a meeting was held on the steps of the Aligarh Jama Masjid at the *Upper Kot*. Ali brothers and other national leaders invited both the Hindus and Muslims to attend the inaugural meeting of the National Muslim University which was going to be held on 29th October 1920 in the M.A.O. College Mosque.⁷⁴

On 29th October, about 2000 persons were present in the college mosque. They came from every community. Such a strong gathering invited the jealousy of the *AIG* which published a rather partisan report as the people came to 'Gandhi's darshan' because it was the rumour that the latter was also one of the invitees.⁷⁵ Shaikhul Hind Maulana Mahmudul Hasan along with Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad participated in the meeting on the invitation of Mohammad Ali.⁷⁶

After Friday's prayer, on 29th October, Shaikhul Hind Maulana Mahmudul Hasan laid the foundation of the Jamia Millia Islamia. While addressing the gathering Mohd. Ali criticised the government as a *Satan* (devil) and said that those cooperated with the government were their associates or *Satan*. He also said "if the college was closed then there would be no problem, we would resume teaching on the mats. If there was no arrangement of *Safai-wala* (sweeper), I will clean toilet. The education of science was not in any way better than

the education of God". Maulana Hasrat Mohani declared that those trustees who were against Non- Cooperation should be regarded expelled from Islam.⁷⁷ Hakim Ajmal Khan and Haji Moosa Khan also addressed the meeting. Maulana Mahmudul Hasan started to read his address but he could not do so because he was keeping a very bad health. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad of Deoband completed his address.⁷⁸

Maulana's address strongly criticised the pattern of the modern education imparted in Aligarh, making the Muslims devoted and loyal to the British Raj. He thus urged the Muslims to think of the evil consequences of such a system and requested to give heed to Gandhiji's call.⁷⁹ Maulana Mahmudul Hasan also expressed the hope that the National Muslim University (Jamia Millia) would reconcile the English education of Aligarh and religious education of Deoband.⁸⁰

At the same historic meeting of 29th October 1920 the name of the National Muslim University was changed to Jamia Millia Islamia. Maulana Mohammad Ali was designated to the first Vice-Chancellor. Later on he was succeeded by Abdul Majid Khwaja.⁸¹

Trustees and the old boys requested the nationalists to leave the college premises.⁸² The adamant attitude of Maulana Mohammad Ali and his associates annoyed the Trustees and the Honorary Secretary of the college. Consequently Syed Mohammad Ali, the Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College wrote to Maulana Mohammad Ali: ".....In exercise of power vested in me under section 90 of the rule....not to hold any kind of meetingnot to address the students.....within the boundaries of the college ground, after receipt of this notice."⁸³

Responding to the notice Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote ".....The work which has brought me here is God's work, I am acting in obedience to his commandment. I can not therefore carry out your request which intervenes these commandments."⁸⁴

The Principal of the M.A.O. College Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad also wrote to Maulana Mohammad Ali that he was staying in the college without the permission of the appropriate authority. He also levelled charges against him for opening and using some of the locked rooms of the *Pakka Barrack*, which was against the peaceful withdrawal of which repeated assurances had been given. He urged upon Maulana Mohammad Ali to leave the college precincts immediately and withdraw all students who were under his influence.⁸⁵ As usual, Maulana Mohammad Ali replied, refuting the allegation that he was responsible for breaking locks of rooms of the *Pakka Barrack*. He also repudiated to have departed from the assurances given by him to the college authorities. He thus requested to comply with the request contained in his letter.⁸⁶ In the evening of 30th October 1920, a deputation of 40

people including old boys and trustees met Maulana Mohammad Ali and requested him to leave the college. But he said that without police or forcible eviction he would not leave the college.⁸⁷

The management of the M.A.O. College thus could not succeed to persuade Maulana Mohammad Ali. At last the Honorary Secretary of the college requested the District Magistrate Mr. Campbell for the assistance in this affair.⁸⁸ In the morning of 31st October the District Magistrate arrived in the college. Maulana Mohammad Ali was virtually ordered under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code to vacate the Old Boys Lodge alongwith his followers including Maulana Abdul Majid. Maulana Mohammad Ali avoiding further confrontation decided to vacate the college.⁸⁹

A caravan of 110 to 150 students left the college to whom they considered much dearer than their home. In the front a student led a green flag on which *kalma Tayyaba* was written.⁹⁰

They took their baggage to "Krishna Kothi" hired by Khwaja Abdul Majid. Some more private building were hired for the stay of the students.⁹¹

A number of students of the Islamia College Lahore and Peshawar also came to Aligarh for admission to the National Muslim University.⁹² As a result two thatched buildings were raised and a hall with the same material was constructed and called 'Mohammad Ali Hall'.⁹³ Further arrangements were made to receive the incoming students seeking admission to the newly set up university at the railway station.⁹⁴

Maulana Mohammad Ali prepared a syllabus and himself started teaching English language and the Modern History.⁹⁵ Some senior students with good academic career were also appointed Lecturers including, Zakir Husain, Noorullah, Saiyed Mohammad, Rauf Pasha and others. Maulana Aslam, Maulana Rashid Ahmed, Hafiz Faiyaz Ahmad, Abdul Karim Faruqi also joinded as a teachers.⁹⁶ At the instance of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Mr. Gopalacharya, the Secretary of the Non-cooperation movement in Madras sent three of their best workers. Among them Mr. Kripanidhi was appointed as Professor in national University and Mr. Rama⁹⁷ was appointed Professer of Science. Maulana Abdul Hai of Gurudaspur was appointed as Professor of Theology.⁹⁸ In order to attract experienced and highly qualified teachers to serve the National University, the authorities offered them very handsome salaries. Professor Hadi Hasan a great teacher of the Muslim University, who was at home in English and Persian literature also joined the National Muslim University.⁹⁹

But the Jamia had to face a legal problem as it could neither award degrees not assure to provide jobs to its students. The students were trained much for political purposes than academic. The Jamia,

however, gave much emphasis on character building.¹⁰⁰ The students were provided the religious education and trained for the struggle of the freedom movement. They also collected funds for the institutions.¹⁰¹ Thus in Aligarh two institutions were functioning in December 1920. One was held by the loyalists with full government support and the other the Jamia against the government. Both the students and the staff campaigned to woo the students to join the Jamia. They reached Ghaziabad, Delhi and Tundla stations to meet the students in order to induce them either to go back or to join the National University. They organised deputations to meet the students at Aligarh station and they also tried to induce the coolies and *Ekka* drivers not to carry the luggage of the students intending to join the old college. They arranged motor lorries and coolies to bring the students from Aligarh railway station.¹⁰² Although there were two universities in Aligarh with two different ideologies, the management of the loyalist group was trying to maintain a strict vigil but students of both universities continued to maintain cordial relations by visiting each others' places. This was soon taken up seriously by the loyalists. Thus the Muslim University authorities wrote to Maulana Mohammad Ali, "My dear Maulana Sahib, some of your students have been visiting the boarding houses attached to this institution--you kindly warn all your students and prohibit them from entering the premises of this institution to avoid a friction."¹⁰³

Some of the authorities were even deadly opposed to students of the Jamia coming to offer prayers at university mosque. They alleged that these students were creating disturbances in the university mosque during the prayer time.¹⁰⁴ The division between the nationalists and the loyalists was thus complete. On 15th December 1920, the inaugural ceremony of the Aligarh Muslim University was scheduled to be held. The designated Vice-Chancellor Raja of Mahmoodabad though a loyalist extended invitation to Maulana Mohammad Ali to participate in the ceremony but the later declined the offer.¹⁰⁵

The Muslim University Act was to come into force from 1st December 1920. According to the provisions of the Act Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal became first Chancellor, Raja Shaib Mahmoodabad became first Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad became the Pro-Vice Chancellor. When the college was opened on 1st December 1920, it was in the form of a university. The Muslim University, so founded, had a complete domination of the loyalists who took all care to ensure that the institution was free from the nationalist students. In a well thought out plan the students were divided into three sections:

- (A) Non-cooperators
- (B) Doubtful

(C) Cooperators

Admission cards were first sent to those students who had cooperated with the college authorities. The cases of doubtful students were considered about Xmas holidays and they also called. No non-cooperating students were admitted without a written guarantee from the parents.¹⁰⁶ About 325 admission cards were sent.¹⁰⁷ The strict policy of the Muslim university authorites caused considerable anxieties among the parents of the non-cooperator students. They wrote a number of letters denying connections of their ward with the Non-Cooperation. They made a lot of excuses and condemned the non-cooperators.

It seems that many students who had taken part in the Non-Cooperation also gave way under the pressure of their parents. The cases of such few students cited here by way of illustration. A student Nurul Hasan wrote to the Principal “.....Now-I am fully convinced that I am wrong in adopting the Non Cooperation.....I hope, you will be kind enough to consider my case favourably,”¹⁰⁸

A student Abdur Rahman of Faridkot writes “..... I never joined National College..... I am very sorry of my past behaviour and promise that in future I would not behave in a similar way . My life is being spoiled and I am on your mercy.¹⁰⁹

Another student Rashid Ahmad of Hyderabad wrote, “..... I was forced to adopt the role of so called non-cooperator..... Kindly inform at an early date to the exact date by which I should return to Aligarh.”¹¹⁰ K.B Mohammad Abdul Hamid Khan Kundi, a Divisional and Session Judge wrote, “.....My son Abdul Hamid Khan Kundi is a 3rd year student of your college, I request you to kindly forgive and allow him to continue his studies in your college.”¹¹¹

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103. *File No. XX/45, 1920-21 (AA)*
104. *Ibid*
105. Muhammad, Shan, *Unpublished Letters of the Ali Brothers*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 217-21 (hereafter quoted as 'Unpublished letters')
106. *File No XX-42, 1920-21 (AA)*
107. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 75
108. *File No. I, 1920-21 (AA)*
109. *Ibid*
110. *Ibid*
111. *Ibid*

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN AMU : 1920-47

Educational Pattern

In the race of advancement and development, Indian Muslims were much more behind than the other communities of India. They were so orthodox and not ready to accept even a minor change in their social set-up. They lived in the changed atmosphere but not ready to get adjusted to the changed accordingly even in the light of their religion. They thought that English education or the education suitable according to the need of time would lead them astray from Islam and it would bring them into Christian influence.¹ Perhaps they thought that the Christian influence would convert them into Christianity. In these days when the Muslims were so backward due to lack of modern education, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded MAO College at Aligarh. According to him the western education was must along with the Islamic education. It was the only way to insure a position for the Muslims in the society.

In order to encourage the western education among Muslims, a Duty Society was founded by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan in 1890, with the active cooperation of Mr. T.W. Arnald, Miss E.J. Beck, Maulvi Tufail Ahmad and others. Its object was (i) to impress upon Musalmans the advantage of western education (ii) to explain both by precept and personal example the benefits which the Muslim community was deriving from Aligarh. (iii) to collect money for *Wazaif* and loans for poor students and other university purposes.²

It was the moral duty of all the students of Aligarh, who were either in the college or out side to preach the values of modern education among the Muslim community. To continue the mission and movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the old boys had formed an association ~~for development an organisation~~ called the MAO Old Boys's Association, the members of which contributed 1% of their income to the aid of their Alma Mater. After the elevation of the college to university status in 1920, the Old Boys Association was re-formed in 1923.³ The old boys and the students of the institution developed a unique culture and traditions which gave a distinct identity to the institution differing

from those of others. In the first convocation of Aligarh Muslim University in 1922 the Chancellor of the university Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum told the students :

“Our view point always should be that we protect honour and fame of our university by maintaining high standard of education. Because only those universities survive and attract good students which excel in education and not by merely awarding cheap degrees” . Advising the students she said : “You are the future of the community (nation) and it is hoped from you to maintain the reputation of the degrees of your university in every way. By your hard work you would serve as examples for fulfilling the objective of university for which it had been established.”⁵

In the convocation of 1935, Girja Shanker Bajpai, Member Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India addressing the students said, “Education is first and foremost national service which enters vitally into most aspects of national advancement.”⁶

The education imparted in Aligarh was the education for the cultural and moral advancement. It was free from the bonds of caste, creed and religion. During those days national movement was going on in India and naturally every student of Aligarh was affected by one way or the other by the political atmosphere of the country, The students were faced with question whether they should take part in politics or not? Regarding this question H.H. Nawab Hamidullah Khan Bahadur, ruler of Bhopal addressed the Aligarh students on the occasion of Muslim University convocation held on 16th Dec. 1939. He said “..... I think it is very desirable that they (students) should study and discuss political question.....But I am strongly of the opinion that in student’s life, the difference in political views should not assume a form which may tend to subvert the discipline of university or disturb even the tenure of its academic life. The university is not political institution and there is no justification for making it the arena of political strife.....” He advised to students, “ After leaving the university you should not think that you have learnt all that was knowable and any thing which you don’t know is not worth knowing. You should act on the principle of ‘live and learn’ and keep your mind open to receive new ideas and impression from any or every source.”⁷

The Aligarh Muslim University was imparting education to the students in various Arts and Science subjects. The authorities remained agile in evolving the pattern of education, even suggesting for oriented education for the benefit of the students. Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, while addressing the convocation of 1934 advised that the system of education should be remodelled so as to find new fields of

occupation in increasing number.⁷

He said "in the existing institutions, mere general education must be transformed into semi-vocational education so as to benefit the students..... The aim should be to have industrial and craft school in all the important towns where youngmen and girl may be trained to earn their livelihood by taking to small industries not requiring much capital. Vocational training should be made compulsory to the schools" He continued "On the other hand the values of higher education should be judged both from the external and utilitarian point of view..... The universities..... mould themselves so as to be in a position to find employment for their graduates in industries, trade and commerce just as much as in the service..... The universities should readopt themselves to the needs of the time and must adjust their teaching to the requirement of the various professions, services and industries."⁸

The Aligarh University adopted the suggestions but practically it was not possible to start the scheme immediately. No doubt it was the period when unemployment was widespread and the Aligarh University tried its best to introduce many new professional courses slowly and gradually.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, a reputed educationist and administrator of the Aligarh Muslim University started many job oriented departments and courses in the university. The details of these departments are in succeeding section of this chapter. His more stress was on making the same pattern of education in Aligarh as prevalent in European and American universities. In 1947 Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad undertook a tour of America and Europe for studying the pattern and system of education then prevalent. His second aim of the tour was to establish a Medical Collage on the model of the Medical Collages in England. But unfortunately in December 1947 while going from Paris to London, he left the world forever on 23rd December 1947.⁹

Language

In Aligarh University the medium of instruction was English because it was the requirement of the time and was also in order to compete with the students of other universities. As it was fact that Muslims were so backward in terms of English education and it was the responsibility of Aligarh University to impart its education through the medium of English, but it was confined to the education and university functioning only. Its atmosphere was fully coloured with a national language, 'Hindustani' or 'Urdu'. The Hindustani language was in vogue in the Aligarh University. The Aligarh alumni thought that how English language could keep alive those Indian thoughts and traditions which constituted their culture and which were part and

parcel of their national heritage. Such an object could be served by a language of the people of India. Honourable Nawab Mirza Yar Jang Bahadur (Mr. Samiullah Beg) addressed AMU Convocation in December 1938. He said “ I feel humiliated when once a Japanese of board ship who had no idea of surroundings and circumstances under which we received our education, expressed his surprise to me on seeing that even amongst ourselves, we talked oftener in English than in our own mother tongue.....Urdu means a camp where people of all nationalities can meet. It is not the language of any Islamic country.....as far as this university is concerned it should immediately make Urdu its medium of instruction specially when it happens to be the mother tongue language of this province”¹⁰

Religious and Spiritual Teachings

The Aligarh students studied modern education but they were permanently inspired by religious and spiritual teachings through personalities of the Islamic community. Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur said that a religious and spiritual life would greatly help the formation of character. He further said “if in Cambridge University, attendance at church service and reading of a few verses from the Bible in the dining hall everyday before taking lunch have been considered necessary for the formation of the character of its students, no reason is seen why the saying of the daily prayers or attendance in Friday sermons should not be enforced as strictly for the Muslim students as attendance at regular classes. For daily and Friday sermons preachers of the right type will have to be employed.”¹¹

Nationalism

The AMU students were very lucky in getting the advice of many eminent personalities. The visitors always reminded them of their culture, traditions and nationalism. Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur also taught the lesson of nationalism to the Aligarh students by saying “love Indian” said “I love those who live on this soil irrespective of caste or creed; respect every culture and religion.....Yours is the country of rainbow cultures and creeds. Your different culture, if properly mixed, may add to the beatuy of whole.....therfore remain cheerful and optimistic up to the last moment.”¹²

It was clear that the aims and objectives of the university was to educate the people , particularly Muslims on the line of Oxford and Cambridge University, but in the light of Islam and nationalism. This institution insisted development of sound judgement, good manners, common sence and self-sacrifice as essential elements of good education. AMU received ample help and assistance from its non-

Muslim friends and its door were open to persons of all religious classes and creeds. His Highness Agha Khan, the Pro-Chancellor of AMU in 1936 said "this university must be cherished by the whole of India as their common trust, their jewel and their child. From Madras to Peshawar we must remember that this university occupies the same position in matters of culture and educational ideals as Delhi does in matters of politics."¹³

Enrolment of the Non-Muslims

So far as this university, college and school were concerned the students came from U.P. Punjab, Hyderabad, Deccan, Madras, Sindh, Delhi, Kashmir, Mysore, South Africa, Ceylon, Persia and Muscat. Besides the Muslim students this university and its allied institutions had many Hindu and Christian students who represent different parts of the country. As regards the Hindus, it is important to observe that besides the regular students a large number of private candidates appeared in its examinations every year. Thus, while it is true that its main purpose was to provide for Muslim educational needs, this university has always served the educational cause of the country as a whole.¹⁴

For the session of 1922-23 at least half a dozen Hindu students applied to be admitted as boarders coming from distant places. The university felt responsibility to make permanent arrangements for these boarders, their kitchens and other requirements. Later on they were accommodated into S.M. Court but it was felt that for their permanent boarding old school building would be arranged, if their number increased.¹⁵

In 1924 many students from Baroda state applied for admission in AMU. But the problem before this university was about their dining arrangements, this problem was solved when a letter from Captain of Baroda State reached Aligarh. I think this work will be incomplete if that letter is not quoted. The letter was as follows"....As regards the feeding arrangements for the Maratha Sardar's boys, there would not be any difficulty. They will and they are quite used to dining with their Muslim brethren. In fact Baroda is a very advanced in that way. Marathas, Gujratis, Brahmans, Europeans, Parsis and Mohammadans always dine at one table and take food cooked by Mohammadan cooks. All are non-vegetarian. You will be surprised to learn that almost 75% of the officers and Sardars have been to Europe. The real idea of these parents in sending their sons to Aligarh is that the boys may imbibe and inculcate that spirit which is not found in other colleges of India, Banaras University included."

"In January last I had gone to Banaras with His Highness the Maharaja Sahib for the convocation meeting. My eyes were keenly

comparing the Aligarh spirit with that of Banaras one and to please myself I can say that my Aligarh is quite different and incomparable..¹⁶

The AMU had a good reputation all over India in all communities and had no prejudice against any caste or creed of India. Unfortunately some students of Banaras Hindu University who had been in Aligarh for some time spread the rumor that in Aligarh no attention was paid to the interests of the Hindu students and no provision was made for the holidays of the Hindu festivals. But these were mere allegations whose fallacy could be proved by the list of AMU holidays which had been attached in the appendices.¹⁷

Aligarh University never betrayed any bias against any particular community. Regular convocations were held and students were filled with national feelings, communal harmony and love for their country and countrymen. In the convocation of Muslim University 1940 Sir Sultan Ahmad Addressed the students "racially and politically Hindus and Muslims are Indians and breath in the same atmosphere. No doubt there are differences but the foundations of life are the same. Political and social salvation can only lie in both, Hindus and Muslims pooling their energies together for reconstruction of a better India." Sir Sultan Ahmad further said "I conjure you earnestly all youngmen both Hindus and Muslims to remember this hard sane and incontrovertible fact when you enter a larger sphere of life. You must try to promote mutual understanding, mutual trust and mutual love and to remember your mutual obligation...."¹⁸ He warned that any other road would lead India to chaos, anarchy, bloodshed and perpetual subjection.¹⁹

Culture & Traditions

All the characteristics of the university which made it different to those of other universities was due to its traditions and culture. It provided a unique character to the students which could be acquired only in the true atmosphere of culture and enlightenment and not in the class rooms. The culture and traditions of AMU were mainly Islamic in character but it did not hamper the freedom of non-Muslim students in the university campus. The religious instructions were only for Muslim students. Besides this a common uniform for all students and its discipline constituted main part of the culture and traditions of the university. This particular type of culture and traditions distinguished the university students from other students of India and the world.

The university uniform consisted black Turkish coat²⁰, white trousers or pajamas of Aligarh cut, fez, boots or shoes with socks. This uniform was worn by students at lectures, in the dining hall, at

the time of inviting on any university officer, visiting the town or railway station and also on such occasions as the Pro-Vice Chancellor directed. But the research students might be exempted from that provision at the discretion of PVC and on the recommendation of chairman of their respective depts. During the hot weather i.e. from 15th April or from the date fixed by PVC or the beginning of the long vacations students wore white or light brown Trukish coat, shewanis or achkans. Members of the teaching staff wore gowns at invigilation and all university functions. They wore gowns of the universities at which they had graduated and those members of teaching staff who did not possess a degree recognised by the university were entitled to wear graduate gowns of the university. The observance of this rule during the hot weather was left on discretion of the members of the staff. Graduate students of the university were required to wear gowns on the convocation day.²¹

The uniform was very important for residential university and every residential institution had its own uniform. It helped the authorities to distinguish the students from those who did not belong to the institution. Another important part of this university was its proctorial system which was introduced by Theodore Beck and Sir Theodore Morison in the college days. This system continued when Muslim University was established and afterwards. Here the students were under the eyes of Proctors and Sub Proctors who looked after the discipline and conduct, at the same time they were themselves allowed to take part in maintaining order.²²

The Aligarh University was also very strict regarding of religious side. During the month of *Ramdhan*, Head of the departments, Proctors, Headmasters and Provosts were empowered to formulate some regulations about the Muslim students to show due regard to the sacred traditions of *Ramdhan*. During the days of *Ramdhan* smoking, chewing and use of Pan during the day time was avoided at all public places. There was no singing, playing musical instruments or any other kind of disturbances during the paryer time including the time of *Taravih*. No parties were given either by students or the members of the staff during day time. No meals were issuded from the dinning hall except for the non- Muslims and there was no cooking done in student's rooms during day time. Special arrangements were made for *Taravih* prayers and these were regularly attended by the students concerned. The Wardens were requested to see that the forgoing instructions were duly observed by the students and any breach was reported to the Provost concern for action. No students were permitted by the Provosts during this month to visit cinema houses. All the restaurants within university area were closed during

the day time.²³

AMU while building the career of the students, always remain one of the source of guidelines for all the minority institutions of India. The AMU authorities gave their instructions to form regulations for the schools and colleges for the Muslims in India. Brayne Meo High School of Mewat was one of the examples which was given the guidelines by the AMU. It invited the Pro- Vice Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad for consultation regarding many problems about the Meo community and school.²⁴

Actually the AMU was not merely an institution but a movement to educate the people of India particularly Muslims. It included the students from all the communities of India but the Muslim students were major part of its strength. On the occasion when H.E.H. Nizam accepted the Chancellorship of the Muslims University in October 1935 many meetings of the Musalmans at many places in India were held and conveyed their sincere and respectful gratitude. These places were Gorakhpur, Allahabad, Saharanpur, Jhansi, Pataigarh, Murehara (Etah), Basti, Sherkot(Bijnor), Dehradun, Hamirpur, Moradabad, Gurgaon, Kanpur, Etah, Jaunpur, Banaras, Agra, Buland Shahar, Peshawar, Kohat, Qadian(Punjab), Burhanpur (Central Province), Baghpat Estate(Meerut), Shikohabad, Jaipur, Ambala, Sikandrabad etc.²⁵ All the Aligarh students or old boys popularly known as 'Alig' had much moral interaction among them and always convened meetings and send suggestions, their respect and allegiance to this university.

Opening of the New Dep. and Faculties

The AMU Act of 1920 authorised the university to open departments and upgrading the existing ones to maintain a standard of education. In the beginning the AMU had 15 departments of studies i.e. (1) English (2) History & Pol. Science (3) Chemistry (7) Mathematics and Astronomy (8) Geography (9) Sunni Theology (10) Shia Theology (11) Islamic Studies (12) Arabic language and literature (13) Persian (14) Urdu (15) Law.²⁶ A few departments were not fully functioning and were only on paper such as Islamic Studies, where no teaching arrangements existed. After some time the Department of Islamic Studies was made functional by providing a syllabus and teachers. There were, however, still some departments functioning in the same way as they did at the time of M.A.O. College.

Raja Mohammad Ali Khan

The first Vice-Chancellor of the university was Raja Mohammad Ali Khan, popularly known as Raja of Mahmoodabad. He had taken full interest in the foundation of Aligarh Muslim University. He donated

rupees one lakh to AMU in 1920. He also instituted scholarship to the AMU students every year. But due to his pre-occupation as the Home Member in the U.P. government, he could not pay attention to the university affairs. He is also said to have developed personal differences with the first Pro-Vice Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. Consequently he resigned from his post in February 1923.²⁷

Nawab Mohammad Muzammilullah Khan Sherwani became Acting Vice Chancellor from 1st March to 31st December 1923. During this period the AMU made considerable progress, four new departments viz: Sanskrit, Botany, Zoology and Education were created. For the department of Education; a Teachers Training College was also established and placed under the charge of Mr. N.K Mukerji.²⁸ From 1923 onwards there was a tremendous increase in the strength of the students, particularly private candidates to the university examinations.²⁹

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan

On 24th December 1923 Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was formally elected as the new Vice Chancellor of the AMU but he joined the office on 1st February 1924. Prior to this he was the Vice President & the Secretary of the State's Council for the last seven years which was also known as India Council. On being elected as the Vice Chancellor of AMU, he decided to devote himself to the work of promotion of Muslim education on the lines of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. In this position wrote 'The Times' "he will be titular as well as the actual leader of the Mohammadan educational efforts."³⁰

When Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan assumed the charge as Vice Chancellor, he found that every office and department of the university was in a complete disarray. The office staff including the *Imams* and the *Muazzins* of the mosque were unpunctual, the dining halls and the kitchens were full of filth and a threat to the health. The tea stalls, hotels added more filth, the wards of health centre presented no better look. Such a state of affairs greatly shocked Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan. He resolved to introduce reforms and set an example by his punctuality and hard work.³¹

Here it is worth mentioning that when Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan began to work as the Vice Chancellor of AMU, political tensions had almost ceased in the campus. The politics of young Aligarh nationalist students for the support of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation had come to almost an end, especially because the National Muslim

University (Jamia Millia Islamia) was shifted to Delhi in 1925.³²

Though Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan had no immediate political issues to deal with, he faced challenging situation to promote the educational atmosphere in the AMU.³³ In his convocation address of February 1924, he gave more emphasis on the need of technical training to the students to face the economic problems and promote the industrial progress of India.³⁴

He also complained that the AMU library was the only library which did not receive any grant from the government while those of Banaras, Allahabad and Lucknow were being regularly provided grants by the government. A good library was essential for mental and intellectual development for researches.³⁵ Referring to the teachings in Theology he said that admittedly it was a compulsory subject according to the statutes and the examinations were also being conducted but only the teaching and examination were not enough. He stressed that instead of asking students to read theology books it was essential that a religious atmosphere be created in institution which demanded appointments of such *Ulema* who had reputation for their piety and knowledge. He further elaborated that such *Ulema* should be allowed so much time so that they could meet teachers and students and impress them with their piety, courtesy and knowledge resulting in the emergence of religious atmosphere.³⁶

During a speech Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan made it clear that the financial position of the university was sound to meet the expences. Hence he appealed to the well wishers to give donations generously to the university. He also appealed to the government to extend grant to meet the requirement of AMU.³⁷

He saw that the condition of the Training College was hopeless. The students of the Training College were also allowed to attend the classes of M.A and L.L.B., which was not permissible in any Government Training College. So that Director of Education of U.P. made a policy not to appoint any teacher coming from the AMU Training College, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan tried to reform the system and succeeded in appointing one Reader and two Lecturer in the Training College.³⁸ Consequently a diploma course was introduced in the Training College.³⁹

The department of Geography was almost non functional. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan took keen interest and soon regenerated it. The condition of the department of Arabic was also not very satisfactory. Efforts were made to obtain the services of the learned persons through inviting applications from India and abroad. Sahibzada Sahib thus secured the services of Allama Abdul Aziz Memon to manage this department. Soon the department improved under to care of Maulana

Memon.⁴⁰

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan also came across the irritating facts that most of the teachers were not punctual and some of them even abstained from their duties so as to attend their personal works. A majority of students had also become irregular in attending the classes. He therefore took the matter seriously and after confiding with the Pro-Vice Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, he informed the parents about the carelessness of their wards. His appropriate action worked restoring discipline among the students.⁴¹

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan made it a regular feature to meet the teachers of the departments and to enquire about their needs. In such meetings he chanced to meet Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf the Chairman of the department of Islamic Studies, he urged upon him to activate the department of Islamic Studies.⁴²

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan also improved the working of the administration through several reforms. He inspected the dining hall and set up a committee for improving its functioning. In the light of that committee's recommendations the old dining hall contractors were replaced by new contractors.⁴³ The dining hall functioned for about a year under the new arrangements. But the reforms were short lived partly because of the non-cooperation from Dr. Ziauddin who was the Pro-Vice Chancellor. Consequently the expelled contractors re-entered. One of the major hurdles in the success of the reforms was the fact that the contractors who supplied the material for the dining hall were also the suppliers of daily needs to the supervisors and keepers of the dining hall. Added to this problem was the fact that some of the employees of the university also functioned as contractors of the dining halls and boarding houses.⁴⁴

Apart from looking into the detail of food cooked and supplied to the students, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan like Sir Syed took interest in fitness and maintaining good health of the students. He began a Scouting and Drill Society. He also improved the working of Riding School by adding ten horses to the existing four. He also promoted other games viz. Hockey, Cricket, Football, Tennis etc.⁴⁵

For the Intermediate College Sahibzada appointed a Principal Abdul Majeed Qureishi and eight more teachers. Improvements were also made in the College library and College building. He appointed Bashir Husain Zaidi as a Head Master of the university school and granted Rs. 3000/- for furniture of teachers and students. He also gave money for Geography and Science equipments and added new buildings for university school. He formulated the idea to set up a school for the blinds under university's care. This idea was not new. Earlier the movement for establishing a school for the blinds was given by Ghulam

Ahmad Ahmadi to which Sahibzada gave a practical shape. The foundation stone of the blind school was laid on 14th January 1925 by Hakim Abdul Wahab Ansari(Hakim Nabina), the elder brother of famous nationalist leader Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari. The school building was completed within two years and half. Sahibzada himself, his elder brother Sultan Ahmad Khan and his wife Bilqis donated a handsome amount for this purpose. On 29th November 1927 the school named as Ahmadi School after the name of its pioneer, was inaugurated by Sir William Marris, the Governor of U.P. At this time Nawab Sir Muzammilullah Khan Sherwani was the Vice Chancellor of the university and he donated to the school a sum of rupees ten thousand in the memory of his elder brother Haji Mohammad Ahmad Sayeed Khan who had become a blind in his advanced age.⁴⁸

In order to meet the growing needs of the university Sahibzada Ahmad Khan invited the Governor General Lord Reading to visit Aligarh. He expected great favour from him.⁴⁹ The Viceroy visited Aligarh on 25th January 1925 and announced the enhancement of the annual grant from rupees one lakh to one lakh and twenty five thousands. He also announced the additional amount of rupees five lakhs for the construction of new buildings.⁵⁰

For the development of the university, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad the Pro-Vice Chancellor was not behind. He had faced the eventful years of the university from 1920 to 1925. As far as admission policy of the university was concerned, Dr. Ziauddin showed softness. The session of AMU used to begin from the month of October, it was two months late than other universities and there was also no fixed last date for admissions. His soft view on the admissions were in order to increase the number of students.⁵¹

Though ideologically Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Dr. Ziauddin has differences but for the progress of the AMU they worked together and cooperated with each other as the future events indicate. Like Aftab Ahmad Khan Dr. Ziauddin also believed in the expansion of scientific and technical educations in AMU. In 1922 in the function of Duty Society (*Anjuman-i-Farz*) he presented ten years plan, stressing the need of technical education for which he fixed a target to raise rupees fifty lakh.⁵² He also explained why technical education needed so urgently. He believed that in existing educational system every student can not secure government employment, now it was not as attractive as a few years earlier.⁵³ He also secured a donation of rupees one lakh from the Nawab of Bhopal added to it in the donations received in the jubilee celebrations of 1925. He received the funds for the establishment of the Engineering College. He also purchased necessary equipments for the Applied Physics and Applied Chemistry.

The government however delayed granting permission while it had already allowed Agra and Allahabad universities to start engineering classes.⁵⁴ Dr. Ziauddin also considered that education to the AMU students in modern Medical Sciences was necessary. Hence he set up medical group in the Intermediate Science group, so that the students might obtain knowledge for admission to the Sub Assistant Surgeon in the Medical College.⁵⁵

In AMU the Theology and Urdu were made compulsory subjects. These were extra subjects unlike in other universities. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad started an examination called 'part one' which was to be cleared by the students during the years of their course. He also started coaching for competitive examinations in 1922 but this was not very regular, even then in 1923 two candidates were selected in Roorkee and Shahpur Engineering Colleges, four students selected in Lucknow Medical College. In 1924 three students were selected for provincial services and one in the Indian civil services.⁵⁶

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad started the policy of holding private examinations. Actually poor students from distant areas could not take admission in AMU and university had no provision for affiliating schools and colleges out of Aligarh district. So a new system of private examination was started and many students benefitted from this system.⁵⁷ Till 1924 eight students were sent to Europe for research purposes and this number increased later on. Three teachers also got loan from the university for that purpose. For the improvement of education in the university many societies of departments started. Till the resignation of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad in 1928 there were 7 literary societies in the university, some of them started journals, some established libraries, some other send their members for enquiry informative tours.⁵⁸

Golden Jubilee Celebration

On the completion of 50 years from the foundation of MAO College, the Vice Chancellor Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Pro-Vice Chancellor Dr. Zaiuddin Ahmad decided for a golden jubilee celebration. It was a process to draw the attention of the Muslims towards the educational movement of Aligarh which got distracted owing to political climate of the country.⁵⁹ Sahibzada said before the Court, "As I desired the celebration of the jubilee to be truly national in scope and character, I started preparation soon after the decision was taken."⁶⁰ A full preparation was made by Sahibzada Sahib but unfortunately his doctors advised him for complete rest for at least six weeks as his illness reached its zenith. He handed over his work to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and left for Agra and then for Delhi for two

months.⁶¹ Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was busy with his academic work but he took the responsibility seriously and did his work competently. He toured some places, met prominent persons and sought their cooperation. Her Highness the Chancellor (Begum of Bhopal) ordered the related officers of her state to provide a high class pandal and tents for guests. Invitation letters were released from the side of Her Highness Chancellor and Vice Chancellor. The honourable post holders of provincial and central governments, Education Minister of Afghanistan with other members of the ministry; the representatives of the Indian and Oxford University and representatives of different states participated in the jubilee celebrations. His Highness Maharaja of Alwar also arrived in Aligarh and granted Rs. 6000/- and one scholarship for studies in any foreign country. The Viceroy, the Governors of the provinces and Vice Chancellors of the universities also sent their messages of good wishes.⁶²

The jubilee celebration began on 25th December and continued till 31st December 1925. About 7000 guests came from far off places to participate the celebrations. The occasion was utilized for holding meetings of important Muslim organisations such as those of All India Mohammadan Educational Conference, All India Muslim League, Tanzeem, Muslim Rajput Conference, All India Urdu Conference etc. The university convocation was also held during the same week.⁶³ Besides public meetings and lectures the programme of jubilee included elocution contests in English and Urdu. A series of games, tournaments which drew players and sportsmen from different universities and colleges.⁶⁴ Rs 17600/- in cash were received as donations on the occasion and Rs. 30,000/- were promised to be donated. Dr. Ziauddin specified this money for engineering and scientific education.⁶⁵ Soon after the jubilee the 5th convocation was held in 1926. Maharaja of Alwar in his address emphasised the need to strengthen the department of Theology. He said "department of Theology is not less important than the establishment of the school of technology as religious education of high standard is equally essential for the progress of the Muslims. It is unfortunate that despite the provision in ordinances for awarding the degree of Bachelor and Master in Theology no sufficient staff has been provided for its teaching and conducting examinations for these degrees." Maharaja of Alwar offered to the V.C. a donation of Rs.8000/- per annum for founding a chair in Theology for five years.⁶⁶

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal thanked His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar for extending his generous support to the cause of Muslim education. Her Highness expressed her satisfaction with the pace and progress made in the university and establishing new department. A donation of two lakh rupees generously announced by her son while laying the foundation stone of Science College.⁶⁷ Dr.

Ziauddin Ahmad requested the government of India to open a signaller class on the same condition as it had opened in several school in India and U.P.⁶⁸

The term of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan completed and in December 1926 Nawab Sir Muzammilullah Khan became the next Vice Chancellor. But this followed the confusion in the university and personal differences among the university authorities which led to the setting of a committee of enquiry against working of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. This Committee report led to the resignation of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and in his place Prof. M.M. Ashraf was appointed as PVC on 2nd May 1928.⁶⁹

After Nawab Muzammilullah Khan a search for new VC was started. Through a letter, Mr. Theodore Morison suggested that Mr. Ross Masood (the grandson of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan) should be appointed as Vice Chancellor. Begum of Bhopal who had arrived at Aligarh also requested the Court to appoint Ross Masood as Vice Chancellor. The Court members accepted this suggestions and Syed Ross Masood appointed as Vice Chancellor with effect from 9th February 1929.⁷⁰ Meanwhile a rumour spread that Syed Ross Masood had accepted the post of Political Secretary offered by the Nizam of Hyderabad. But the rumour was not true, no doubt both offers were before him but he accepted the Vice Chancellorship of AMU.⁷¹ He said that it was the call of the blood which made him to accept the position of Vice Chancellor. He felt that he must continue the work which his illustrious grandfather had commenced with the desire of raising the intellectual standard of Muslims in the east. When he was asked to go back to Aligarh, he put in all his energies in search of Professors and Lecturers in Great Britain and in many countries of Europe and tried to raise large sum of money to built finest chemical laboratories in Aligarh.⁷²

Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman

As Syed Ross Masood was in England, the temporary charge of Vice Chancellorship was given to Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. In the absence of Syed Ross Masood, Justice Sulaiman did very hard work to raise the standard of the university because the university had a very bad reputation due to the enquiry committee report. He made many changes in order to formulate the Rahimatullah Enquiry Committee suggestions and satisfied the government. It was by dint of his efforts that government granted Rs. 1500000 for the building purpose and raised its annual grant from Rs.125000/- to Rs 300000/-.⁷³ Other important work of Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman was making the arrangements for coaching the students for competitive examinations. As almost all the

services were open to capable youngmen and it was essential to train students for these competitions. A central office, where necessary information for all the competitive examination was stored, was opened and all efforts were being made to make it updated. Mr. Mohammad Ishaq was appointed to look after this office and to give students all the necessary information regarding conditions, prospectus, syllabus and examinations. A complete and exhaustive chart of all the Indian services was prepared and published and one of its copies was supplied to each university student. Similar charts for the provincial, subordinate and the lower services were in the process of preparations. The following staff members appointed on fixed allowances to teach students in the subjects noted against their name.⁷⁴

(1)	Dr. M. Nazim)	Mr. Abdur Rashid)	History and Pol. Science
(2)	Dr. A. Mukhtar)	Mr. S. Mahmudul Hasan)	Economics
(3)	Mr. Mukhtar Hamid)	Mr. Abrar Husain Faruqi)	English
(4)))	Persian & Arabic
(5)	Mr. Allah Baksh Kamali	—			Lower Mathematics

It is surprising that all the work he had done was the result of only his few days stay at Aligarh. He spend only two days in a week at Aligarh because of his service constraints in the Allahabad High Court.⁷⁵

Sir Ross Masood

Syed Ross Masood assumed the charge of Vice Chancellorship on 20th October. On 12th Sep. 1929 Mr. E.A. Horn was appointed as Pro-Vice Chancellor on the advice of Syed Ross Masood before his arrival. The post of Registrar was vacant because of the resignation of Shaikh Abdullah and his place was taken by Khan Bahadur Fakhruddin Ahmad from Bengal Educational Service.⁷⁶ The tenure of office of Syed Ross Masood was from Oct. 1929 to April 1934. During this period he faced many difficulties. First was the economic depression from which the whole world had suffered and it also naturally effected adversely the finance of the university.⁷⁷ Second was the problem of Pro-Vice Chancellor because Mr. E.A. Horn died just after his appointment. Mr. Mortin officiated the post for a few months and was succeeded by Mr. R.B. Ramsbothem who joined his duties in Feb. 1931. Third was the enhancing the reputation of the university. He faced the problems boldly and worked hard for the betterment of the university. Regarding the AMU; the United Provinces government observed “---work of reform was undertaken with the determination of courage and the last few years have been a time of steadily increasing

efficiency and the widespread improvement and activity. The university having set its house in order, can look backward with satisfaction and forward with confidence."⁷⁸

An important work of Syed Ross Masood was the decision to amalgamate the Intermediate college with the university. For that reason Sir Fazl-i-Husain introduced a bill giving effect to the amendments, suggested by Aligarh University authorities and approved by Visiting Board, in the University Act. The bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly, Shimla in September, 1931.⁷⁹ The amendment was passed and by this provision Intermediate College was amalgamated with the university during the session 1932-33 and M.U. School was raised to the status of first class high school. MU City School also became high school and the university instead of treating it as an aided school had now included it in the category of institution maintained by it and had thereby become entirely responsible for its maintenance.⁸⁰

Syed Ross Masood laid more stress on Urdu. The medium of instruction in VI, VII, VIII classes of the school was changed to Urdu. Urdu and Commerce were added to the list of optional subjects for Intermediate examinations and later on Urdu was included as a subject for M.A. and honours classes. In 1934 Mr. Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui a senior Lecturer in Urdu was appointed Reader and Chairman of the department.⁸¹ As far as Geography was concerned M.A. and M.Sc classes were opened in 1932.⁸² Syed Ross Masood also gave emphasis on Hindi teaching and its teaching in the school classes were started from 1931.⁸³ A graduation studies in Theology also started.⁸⁴

In 1931 the electrification of the entire university area was completed and all cost of electrification was met by Her Highness Sultan Jahan Begum. As far as drainage system was concerned much spade work was done.⁸⁵ Syed Ross Masood instituted the Vice Chancellor's Fund for the poor and needy students. With the handsome amount of donations from His Highness the Maharaja Sir Tukoji Rao Holker of Indore and Captain Nawab Dr. Sir Mohammad Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari, a spacious gymnasium was built opposite to the swimming bath. Equipments were also purchased for the purpose.⁸⁶ During the period of Syed Ross Masood many well known personalities visited Aligarh. Most important among them being the great historian Sir Jadunath, the world famous scientist Sir C. V. Raman, the world famous poet Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, who delivered interesting lectures on their respective subjects.⁸⁷

The university started a coaching class preparing students to appear in the entrance examination to Indian Military Academy. The class was limited to 10 each year and each applicant had to undergo a selection board before he was admitted to the class.⁸⁸

The most important and highly appreciable work of Syed Ross

Masood was the establishment of a Science College. Till then science education was provided in casual manner without having necessary paraphernalia. Neither there was building and laboratory nor research provision. Syed Ross Masood persuaded the government to sanction Rs.150000/- and Rs 100000/- were received from State of Hyderabad for the above purpose. He founded laboratories for Zoology, Botany, Physics and Chemistry and equipped them with latest instruments. He started the research provision, appointed able staff for their guidance and made provision for scholarships for the needy students. He also encouraged research work in Arts subjects. In 1934 the university conferred its first Ph.D.degree in chemistry on Dr. Omar Farooq and second Ph.D degree was awarded to Dr. Zakiuddin in Physics in the same year.⁸⁹

He also took care of Training College. It was running in the office of Muslim Educational Conference. He spent an amount of one lakh rupees over the construction of building, instruments and library of the Training College. He also increased the strength of the teaching staff to improve teaching. During the academic year 1930-31 the department of Public Instruction had accorded formal recognition to the B.T. Degree of this university and Director of Public Instruction began to select the trained teachers from this university. He also did much work for Engineering and Tibbiya College. But unfortunately a section of Aligarh did not appreciate his work and started opposing his policy. By nature Syed Ross Masood was very sentimental and he used to get nervous when some one opposed him and that too when the opposition came from his own friends. Syed Ross Masood tendered his resignation to the AMU Court on April 1934 and left for Europe. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Treasurer, was appointed as Acting Vice Chancellor.⁹⁰

The Govt. of India Act 1935 was passed. It divided all educational activities into two categories Federal (central) and State (provincial). Aligarh Muslim University fell in the Federal subjects.⁹¹ AMU faced many changes in that year. In August 1935 His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad accepted the Chancellor of the university. On 9th April 1935 Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was elected V.C. by the Court of AMU. K.B Obaidur Rahman Sherwani was elected Honorary Treasurer and Mr. Azmat Ilahi was acting as Registrar. His Highness Sultan Mohd. Agha Khan was elected as Pro-Chancellor of the university on 17th November 1935 by the Court. Mr. Abu Baker became the PVC in March 1935.⁹²

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad

In March 1935 Sir Fazle Husain introduced a bill in the Council of State to amend the AMU Act whereby the post of Pro-Vice-Chancellor would be voluntary and not obligatory. The Council passed

the bill amending the AMU Act. It enabled the university to fill the post of PVC at the time when it was found desirable.⁹³ With this amendment the dispute regarding PVC came to an end. The session of 1935-36 was very important as number of persons visited the university. Prominent among them were Hon'ble Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, Law Member of govt. of India; Hon'ble Sir Girija Shanker Bajpai, Education Member of government of India; Hon'ble Mr. Raghunath Rao, Home Member of the Central Provinces government; His Excellency the Viceroy and Lord Rector of the university and His Exalted Highness the Chancellor.⁹⁴ The Viceroy Lord Wellington conveyed to the AMU Court on 22nd March 1936 "....Since 1932 (due to world depression) the recurring grant of the university had been reduced by 10%....I am glad to announce that we have decided to make this restoration for each of the three universities Aligarh, Banaras and Delhi."⁹⁵

For the development of the university there was a need of some more lands to start other important courses. For that purpose Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad then Vice Chancellor of the university appealed to the government to give the Aligarh fort and its adjoining areas. The Archeological department of the govt. of India transferred the fort and its grounds to the university. The university intended to open course on animal husbandry in the fort area.⁹⁶ In 1943 university intended to start a scheme for research in fisheries. The Director of fisheries, UP also approved the scheme. The ditches of the Aligarh fort were to provide an ideal place for breeding fishes not only for experimental purposes but also as a means to large scale fish supply to Aligarh and neighbouring districts. The university sought permission to use the ditches and to carry on some necessary masonry work for the said purpose.⁹⁷ The government approved and informed the university authorities "....university may occupy and repair two modern bungalow in the fort for the use of officers of the university. The university shall have the free use of the land attached to the fort for agricultural purpose including maintenance of the cattle. The government of India reserves to themselves the right to take into its control the fort premises at any time with one year's notice."⁹⁸ So the fort was granted to the university and the university was free to use the fort according to its wishes.

Many new departments and courses were opened in the AMU during the Vice Chancellorship of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. The classes of Journalism were opened in 1938 on experimental basis. It attracted

a fairly large number of students.⁹⁹ Military Drill was made compulsory in 1939 for the students of 1st year and 2nd year classes and in 1940 it was extended to the III & IV year classes as well.¹⁰⁰ Regular classes were started in Agriculture as optional subject for the Intermediate examination. In 1944, an Agricultural College was opened for which university had received a grant of Rs.20000 from government of India. A regular Commerce course was also introduced as optional subject for Intermediate examination. In 1944 this department was raised after receiving a donation of Rs. 50000 from Haji Mohd. Sahab Siddique.¹⁰¹ In 1946 the department of Commerce was established and reorganised by Mr. S.M.Shafi.¹⁰² Geology course was also started in 1944 and it was hoped that this department would develop into a regular department of Geology as soon as class room accomodation would be available.¹⁰³ By the effort of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, AMU became the center for conducting examination of City and Guilds of London Institute of which Ragistrar was the Local Secretary.¹⁰⁴ In 1944 supplementary and compartmental examinations were introduced in the university as recommended by the Central Advisory Board of Education.¹⁰⁵

In 1944 radical changes in the university were introduced. The faculty system was started in the universti. The Deans were appointed as head of the faculties. Nawab Sadar Yar Jang Bahadur was appointed as Dean of Theology. Dr. S.Zafrul Hasan of Arts, Dr. M.Babar Mirza of Science and K.B. Abdur Rahman of Engineering.¹⁰⁶ In the same year the work of PVC was distributed among the Deans and Provosts (head of the residential halls) ¹⁰⁷

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad got an opportunity when the World War II started. He opened many new departments with a view to help the Emergency Commission. Several hundred students were sent out for Emergency Commission and more than a thousand war technician were trained. Ever since the war broke out in September 1939 the VC of AMU made 'Military Drill', compulsory for all students of university. Five staff members were sent to Dehradun for the training in military course.¹⁰⁸

On the representation of the VC the Governor of U.P. appointed special Provincial Selection Board for Aligarh students and also sanctioned Rs. 700/- per month for the appointment of a special officer to train candidates for Emergency Commission. A handsome grant of Rs. 1500/- as prompt payment and Rs.10000/- annually, alongwith the grant of U.P. Governor, enabled the univestiy to organise a regular department of Military Training in 1942 on the lines of the pre-cadet school of Bombay and Madras. This department was put under the charge of Mr. W.C. Qauyle, Ex-Professor of Physics in the university

of Rangoon and an Air Pilot.¹⁰⁹

In 1941 as per requirements of the war, arrangements were made for education and training of the technicians. The government gave grants for that purpose and appointed an experienced officer to train the technicians. The Labour department of government of India also granted Rs. 27000/- for residential purpose of technical students. Dr. Ambedkar the then Labour Minister laid the foundation stone of the hostel building. On the representation of the Muslim members of the Central Assembly, Aligarh was included as a centre in a scheme of training to war technicians. The centre was located in the Engineering College of the university. To this course mostly poor students were admitted. After completing their training they got jobs in different factories in India.¹¹⁰

In 1939 a Flying Club was established and Prince of Berar laid the foundation of an aerodrome. But due to the war the scheme remained in abeyance. In 1943 the dream was fulfilled and a special school for 'Indian Air Training Corps' was started in AMU. Now Aligarh got the distinction of being the first university to start such school. The opening ceremony was performed by Air Vice Marshall A.B.C. Collier on 13th Feb. 1943. 50 students were admitted to this course. They were given a scholarship of Rs.20/- per month alongwith one and half rupees by way of holiday pocket money. At the same time they were allowed to continue their education in the university. At the suggestion of High Commander Majumdar and other representatives of the Air Headquarters, the Managing Committee of the Engineering College introduced course of instruction in 'Aeronautic Engineering' in November 1943 as an alternative subject in the curriculam. Five planes were received from Air Headquarters for instructional purposes but a workshop fitted with hangers was yet to be built. However the temporary rooms of the university were used for purpose.¹¹¹ Among all the Military departments the Navy could not become successful in Aligarh as the place was far away from the sea. The theory classes however were regularly conducted.¹¹²

As the war wave was on, everything possible and conceivable was done and achieved in the university. In view of the war emergency, the duration of course was reduced on the recommendation of the Managing Committee of Engineering College.¹¹³

Fortunately when the office of the 2nd U.T.C. Battalion shifted to Aligarh the strength of U.T.C. at Aligarh was doubled. This U.T.C. Battalion helped very much in imparting military training to the university students. Services of science department of AMU had been placed at the disposal of the government of India for the preparation of articles needed for the war purposes. For the development of the

different branches of defence in AMU, a Military Science Institute was started in November 1944. It was known as Aken Luck Institute of Military Science. These departments were sometimes inspected by the government officers. In March 1944 Commander in Chief General Aken Luck visited Aligarh and after inspection of all branches of defence education at AMU expressed great satisfaction.¹¹⁴

In the beginning of the World War II university faced a legal problem in opening the different defence branches. But on 27th Feb. 1943 problem was solved when the Central Assembly passed Mr. J.D. Tyson's (Secretary of Education, Health and Land) bill to amend the AMU Act. Mr. Tyson's bill sought to enable the university to modify its ordinances expeditiously and provide special course of study for the interested students.¹¹⁵

The university authorities were perhaps confused in thinking that the British government was quite friendly with them. So On 21st May 1943, the VC of AMU Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad delivered a touching speech. He said "We have assembled here today to celebrate the victory of Allied Forces in the first stage of the war. The Musalmans felt greatly relieved at the termination of Italian hold in North Africa.... The university has sent out about 700 students in Emergency Commission and they have all gone with the firm resolve that they would take Burma back from Japan and will release our countrymen....I now give a small contribution of Rs. 5000/- towards the war efforts and hand over the cheque to the Chairman."¹¹⁶

In the mid way when the development measures were being undertaken, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad resigned from the post of Vice Chancellorship in 1947 due to some disturbances. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan took over as VC on 20th October 1947.¹¹⁷ He was a renowned politician and a well wisher of the community.

Medical College

The moment the MAO College was elevated to the status of the university, the Muslim community had been urging to establish a Medical College for the benefit of students interested in medical line. In 1923, Mr. Nur Mohammad of Bhera wrote to PVC, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and requested him to make all efforts for starting a Medical College in AMU. He too thought that it would provide good career for youngmen as only small fraction of them could get admission in the existing Medical Colleges of India.¹¹⁸ The old boys from each corner of India too appealed to the AMU authorities to open a Medical College.¹¹⁹ But the efforts to establish Medical College were slow due to the paucity of funds. It required a huge amount of money for its establishment. When Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad became Vice Chancellor

second time in 1941, Sir Agha Khan donated a sum of one lakh rupees for establishing a Medical College.¹²⁰ By 1944 an amount of thirty lakh rupees was collected for that purpose.¹²¹ Under the guidance of Dr. Ziauddin many delegations consisting of students and teachers toured the country and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad himself visited big cities like Bombay and Calcutta to collect donations for the Medical College.¹²² The Muslims responded generously to the appeal for funds and by the end of 1946 a sum of 44 lakh of rupees had been collected which included the donation of 10 lakhs rupees given by the Nizam of Hyderabad.¹²³ Till the end of 1947 over 50 lakhs of rupees were collected for the purpose of establishing Medical College. Consequently a plan for the faculty of Medicine was submitted to the government of India for its approval.¹²⁴

Engineering College

Like the Medical College there was a lot of hue and cry from the muslims for establishing a Technical College in Aligarh University . A student of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad wrote a letter informing him that in Tata Technological College students from all the universities were given admission excepting from that of Aligarh University. He therefore, made an earnest appeal to him to open a Technological College as soon as possible.¹²⁵

In 1924 university had made a provision for the teaching of technology. Accordingly Academic Council approved to open three braches of technology viz. (1) Applied Chemistry (2) Electro Technic (3) Civil Engineering. In Civil Engineering it was proposed to provide teaching only in diploma course.¹²⁶ But the real beginning could be made only in 1935 when a Technical Institute was started in the month of November. Consequently this institute started two courses i.e. the Electrician course and Foreman course having 20 students in each course. By 1937 the Institute was having the following courses.¹²⁷

- (1) Diploma course, three years course for F.Sc boys.
- (2) Foreman course, three years course for matriculates.
- (3) Electrician course of two years duration for boys of elementary knowledge of vernacular and arithmetic.
- (4) Motor Mechanics course of two years duration for boys of elementary knowledge of Urdu and Mechanic.

Additional part time courses in Telegraph, Signalling and Driving of motor cars were also started.¹²⁸ In 1938 Sir Agha Khan arrived at Aligarh alongwith Nawab of Rampur. Sir Agha Khan donated one lakh rupees for Engineering College. Nizam Hyderabad also donated same amount and Nawab of Rampur donated one lakh and two thousand rupees.¹²⁹ The College of Technology made satisfactory

progress from the date of its foundation. In 1938, 23 students appeared in the City and Guilds examination of Electrical Engineering, 17 of them became successful.¹³⁰ In 1940 the government approved the opening of B.Sc classes in Electrical and Mechanical Engineering.¹³¹ In 1941 Nawab Kamal Yar Jung inaugurated the Agha Khan workshop.¹³² As a result B.Sc in Civil Engineering was started in the same year.¹³³ In 1942 the department of Technology was transformed into the College of Engineering.¹³⁴ From then onwards the Engineering College required great reputation.

Tibbiya College

The U.P. government appointed a committee under Mr. Gorakhnath Mishra for establishing institutions of Ayurvedic and Unani system of Medicine in 1925. The committee visited many places in the United Provinces but unfortunately they did not arrive at Aligarh. When the Pro- Vice Chancellor of the AMU was informed about the proposal, he addressed a letter to the President of the committee and urged that the proposed Tibbiya College be established at Aligarh.¹³⁵

Fortunately President of the committee Mr. Gorakhnath Mishra considered the proposal of PVC and requested U.P. government to establish a Tibbiya College at Aligarh. In October 1927, the university inaugurated a new deptt. of Unani Medicine for which U.P. government had given a recurring grant of Rs. 50,000/- per year.¹³⁶ It was merely a deptt. of Unani Medicine maintained by the AMU and was not yet given the status of the college. In the mean time it made great progress. A laboratory with X-ray equipments and a collection of pathological specimens enabled the students to receive training in the latest methods of diagnosing diseases. The anatomical museum was organised with a large collection of models from Europe covering all the systems of human Anatomy. The department of Physiology was also well equipped.¹³⁷ In order to achieve efficient functioning, Dr. Ataullah Butt (earlier a Medical Officer of the university and incharge of the deptt. of Unani Medicine also from the time of its establishment) was given exclusive charge of the department.¹³⁸ By this change the deptt. of Unani Medicine continued to make rapid progress.¹³⁹ In 1931-32 the syllabus of the Unani Tib was split in the following manner :

1st year - Fundamental principle of Unani Tib were taught.

2nd year - Course on Materia Medica (Unani) particularly the simple drugs.

3rd year - General methodology (Unani) general principle of treatment .

4th year - Medicine (Unani) particularly symptomology and treatment of diseases.

Practical classes data

Year	No. of cases examined and treated	No. of minor operation performed before students	No of dead bodies dissected
1929-30	12830	11	1 by 8 students
1930-31	17966	425	1 by 11 student.

Examination (1930-31)

Class	No of student appeared	Passed	Re-examined	Passed
Iyear	7	6	1	1
Ilyear	7	7	-	-
IIlyear	19	17	-	-

The above data is based on the session 1930-31 when the students were examined for three year classes and the fourth year class was not started.¹⁴⁰ The teaching work was quite satisfactory and practical Pharmacy class in which compound drugs were prepared under the supervision of Hakim incharge were regularly held. The examinations were conducted by Board of Indian Medicine.¹⁴¹

Strength of the students increased and departments expanded. For this purpose as foundation stone of new Tibbiya College Building was laid on 22 March 1936 by Prince Azam Jah Bahadur, heir apparent of the State of Hyderabad.¹⁴² In 1938 a few changes were made in the syllabus as 4th and 5th year classes were started from that time. By this time classwise course was:¹⁴³

Ist year- Fundamental principle of the Unani Tib

2nd year -Mufredate & Qarobadin (Simple drugs of Unani Medicines & Unani Pharmacopeia) became the special subject of this class, apart from the lectures on the subject of preparation of Drugs.

3rd year-General Pathology

4th year- Symptomology and treatment of deseases.

5th year- Hummayat (Subject in which different types of fevers is taught) and Moalijat (Unani Medicine) of Qanum Shaikh (Canon of Medicine, a book of Ibn-e-Sina) were daily taught which completed the Unani section of the Tib.

It was matter of great satisfaction for the students of Unani Tib that in 1939, U.P. government took 25 Diploma holder Hakims from Aligarh for rural dispensaries in U.P.¹⁴⁴ In 1943 the department of Tibbiya was granted the status of a College to be maintained by AMU. Its courses of study and examinations were henceforth regulated and controlled by the Academic Council of the university.¹⁴⁵ After 1944

the status of the college was raised to Degree College.¹⁴⁶

Medical Department

For the health care of the university students, a first class Medical department was established under the guidance of a Medical Officer Dr. Ataullah Butt. When Tibbiya department was established he also took charge of the Headship of that department. This naturally affected the efficiency of this deptt. as a result the post of Principal was created in 1930 separating Tibbiya College from Medical department. Dr. Ataullah Butt assumed the exclusive charge of the Tibbiya College as Principal and Dr. Mansoor, M.D.D.P.H. became the whole time Medical Officer of the university.¹⁴⁷ From that time Medical department continued to do good work under the direction of Dr. A.R. Mansoor.¹⁴⁸

Women's College

Shaikh Abdullah may be credited for initiating the work of women's education in Aligarh. He formulated the idea of starting ladies school in 1902 but the actual work of collecting donation was started after the Educational Conference at Lucknow which was held in 1903. Shaikh Abdullah started a journal "*Khatoon*" in 1904 in Aligarh propagating for women's education so far abhorred. Through this journal the ladies came out with writing about their social problems.¹⁴⁹ The Journal *Khatoon* carried the message to the ladies of the respected families. This finally led to establishing a ladies school at Aligarh. Her Highness Begum of Bhopal gave donations for it. Some of the important ladies made a movement and collected funds for the school. Many students of the MAO College also responded to the call and joined to collect donations from Kathiawar, Bombay, Hyderabad etc. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Khan Bahadur Buniyad Husain, Zahoor Ahmad, Abur Rahman Bijnori also participated in these tours for donations. Even Syed Mahmood toured different areas and collected donations.¹⁵⁰

In June 1906 Shaikh Abdullah sent a letter to Lt. Governor of U.P. informing him about the plan for establishing a ladies school in Aligarh. He appealed to grant money for the same. He also requested to see him with a delegation on 2nd August 1906 for the meeting. Shaikh Abdullah sent names of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Mohammad Faiyaz Khan, Maharaja Mahmoodabad, Raja Tasadduq Rasul Khan, Nawab Muzammilullah Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Raja Naushad Ali Khan, Maulvi Mohd. Nasim Advocate and Khwaja Ghulamussaqlain to the Governor. But on the appointed day only three persons namely Raja Naushad Ali Khan, Maulvi Mohd. Nasim and Khwaja Ghulamussaqlain reached with Shaikh Abdullah. With reference to Begum of Bhopal, Shaikh Abdullah said that Her

Highness had granted donations and desired to get the assistance from government. The government permitted to start the school but asserted that monetary grant would be released only after a satisfactory inquiry by the government.¹⁵¹

From 1907 a regular school for girls was started. Its first lady teacher was Akhtari, Begum Abdullah Waheed Jahan and her two sisters Sikandar Jahan and Sayeed Jahan also started teaching in that school. Sedans were arranged to carry veiled girl students from nearby areas. Within three months from the inception of the school, 50 students were enrolled. A government inspector came for an enquiry and gave satisfactory report to the Governor of U.P. The Governor in order to fulfil the promise granted Rs. 17 thousand for building purpose and Rs 250 monthly for school.¹⁵² The government grant raised the hope of Shaikh Abdullah and he became sure that this primary school would be raised to a college in the near future. But it was not an easy task. He faced many difficulties in persuading the people to send their daughters for his school. At this juncture Begum Abdullah played key role in convincing the mothers of the girls. On the other side, those who were against the girls education started creating problems in the works of Shaikh Abdullah. They condemned and committed absurdities in order to harass Shaikh Abdulllah.¹⁵³ But he continued to work towards his goal without caring the criticism. Shaikh Abdullah purchased a land of 14 Bigha from Nanak Rai by paying a meagre amount of Rs. 1950/- It was a very big garden and Shaikh Abdullah sold only woods worth of Rs. 5100/- and for this money he purchased another surrounding land for the school. In a very few year Shaikh Abdulllah was able to secure forty acre land for the school.¹⁵⁴

In 1911 when Shaikh Abdulllah intended to construct a new permanent building for the school, the opposition created hinderances once again. According to them the place for the building of girl's school was very near to the MAO College which would badly affect the college. They started back biting Nawab Viqarul Mulk. Nawab Viqarul Mulk met all those persons who were opposing Shaikh Abdulllah. The leaders of opposition were Sir Arche Bold, Principal of the college and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. The Principal said "I shall resign if that school will be built." He further said "Muslim girls school near the college would cause depravity for both the institutions. I am sure that for this reason both the institution will be defamed." Dr. Ziauddin seconded the Principal's opinion saying "I doubt that the people will sent their girls in view of the nearness of the college. We shall have no objection if the school be built on the other side of the city." Shaikh Abdulllah gave a plea that most of the staff members are living with their families in the college campus and no difficulty arose out

of it, then to what harm it could cause if a boarding house was going to be built one and half miles away from the college. On hearing this argument of Shaikh Abdullah the opposition became silent and Nawab Viqarul Mulk gave judgement in his favour.¹⁵⁵

At that time the Governor of U.P. was Porter. So, on 11th November 1911 the foundation stone was laid by Mrs. Porter. At that time many chiefs, noblemen, Talluqdars, staff of the MAO College, Hindus, Muslims and Christian ladies were present. After the ceremony Shaikh Abdullah decided to construct the building, at first the boarding house, because it was the first requirement of the students coming from the very distant areas of the country. Shaikh Abdullah collected forty thousand rupees from the donations and government also granted 20 thousand ruppes for that purpose. From this sixty thousand rupees, the construction of the boarding house completed in 1914. Now alongwith Hakim Ajmal Khan and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmd Khan, Shaikh Abdullah requested Begum of Bhopal for inauguration and on 14th Feb. 1914 the inaugural ceremony was held with great pomp and show.¹⁵⁶

Shaikh Abdullah faced many difficulties as no parents were ready to lodge their daughters in the boarding. But before lodging their daughters they wanted to be assured about the proper functioning of the boarding house. They were also concerned about the observation of pardah system. Shaikh Abdullah said that only gents water carrier and sweepers (*Bhangi*) would be allowed to enter the boarding house. On the very first day only nine girls were admitted in the boarding house. Among these girls three were the daughters of Shaikh Abdullah, other three were the neices of Begum Abdullah one was the daughter of Shaikh Abdullah's friend and the remaining two were persuaded by Begum Abdullah. Begum Abdullah herself began to live with the boarders in the boarding house. Gradually the number of boarders started increasing and many parents got their daughters admitted happily in the boarding house.¹⁵⁷ In due course of time the functioning of the school became very smooth. The number of girls increased. For the first time in 1916-17 three students appeared in the middle class examination.¹⁵⁸

The students further demanded that arrangements should be made for martic classes. But the resources were too meager to appoint new teachers. Shaikh Abdullah however, secured the donations from Nizam of Hyderabad, Nawab of Tonk, Nawab of Bahawalpur, Nawab of Jawara etc. and then requested the government to raise its annual grant. Government immediately raised its grant from three thousand to eight thousand rupees. As the monetary problem being solved Shaikh Abdullah appointed qualified teachers. For the first time in 1921 six

students appeared in matric examination. The school, then was raised to the status of "Muslims Girls High School"¹⁵⁹ Shaikh Abdullah in order to solve the residential problem requested Nawab Muzammilullah Khan for help. Nawab Muzammilullah donated Rs. 7000/- to construct the residence of four lady teachers and this building, later on, was denominated after the name of late daughter of Nawab Muzammilullah Khan.¹⁶⁰ In 1925 during the jubilee celebrations of the university after a prolonged debate girl students were to listen the speeches from behind the curtain at the instance of Shaikh Abdullah who became the pioneer of libration of Muslim women by virtue of his great efforts.¹⁶¹ The girl students were also encouraged to participate in extra curricular activities.¹⁶²

In 1926, one girl student of this school appeared in Intermediate examination from U.P. Board and thereafter many students appeared every year. Later on in 1929, the school was raised to Intermediate College and was recognised by U.P. Board. Shaikh Abdullah, however wanted its affiliation with the Muslim University. In order to affiliate the college, university made a provision of Rs. 100/- as annual grant. Hence from 1930 the college got affiliated to the Muslim University.¹⁶³

With the increasing strength of the students, it was felt necessary to start B.A. classes. This could only be done by raising necessary funds and making proper arrangement for teaching.¹⁶⁴

In 1935, the Muslim Educational Conference was held at Rampur. It was presided over by Syed Husain Bilgrami, an eminent officer of Hyderabad State. Shaikh Abdullah also attended the conference and put up his proposal for opening a Degree College for the girls at Aligarh. Many delegates supported the proposal.¹⁶⁵ However, it was not accepted. Shaikh Abdullah unfettered by the conservative attitude of the muslim intelligentsia continued his effort, wrote articles highlighting the need of encouraging higher education among the Muslim girls.¹⁶⁶ When Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman became the next Vice Chancellor, Shaikh Abdullah finally succeeded in getting his approval for the Degree College. The university granted Rs.5000/- annually for the college in 1937-38 and B.A classes were started.¹⁶⁷

In 1938 the Education Minister of the U.P. government Mr. Sampurna Nand visited Aligarh. Shaikh Abdullah met him and requested him to visit the Girls College and demanded a grant of Rs.20000/- for the Girls College to built the Science laboratory. He appreciated the efforts of Shaikh Abdullah in field of girls education and approved the grant.¹⁶⁸

Later on the university permitted the girl students to attend the P.G. classes in the university and several other improvements followed.¹⁶⁹

To accomodate the Girls College in the university and P.G. education to the girls in the university, necessary amendments in the university constitution attempted. On 5th November Honourable Mr. N.R. Sarkar introduced a bill to amend the Aligarh Muslim University Act to enble the university--¹⁷⁰

- (i) to admit to its previledges a Degree College for women which it was proposed to organise at Aligarh and
- (ii) to confer degrees on passing degree examinations from that college.

An autumn session of the Council of States also began in November in New Delhi. In that session speaking on the motion for consideration of the bill to amend the Aligarh University Act, Sir Mohammad Yaqub and Mr. P.N. Sapru welcomed the propsoal to organise Degree College for women, to be affiliated to the university. Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru, while not wishing to oppose the bill, said that he would have preferred if girls were to receive education in Aligarh Muslim University in the same way as boys instead of being in a separate college. The establishment of such a college, he felt, would be in contravention of the principle underlying the Aligarh University, which was a unitary teaching university. The bill was passed without further discussion.¹⁷¹

Faced with monetary problem, the Girls College with a meagre grant of Rs. 5000/- per annum from the university, Shaikh Abdullah thought it proper to get it de-affiliated from the university and make up a provincial college so as to get full grant from U.P. government. This was done with the help of Dr. Ziauddin who was at that time the member of the Provincial Assembly. He put up the matter before Assembly and empowered the university to cancel affiliation of the Muslim Girls College. From that time the Muslim Girls College became a provincial college maintained by the U.P. government. Now Shaikh Abdullah made effort to get much more grant from the U.P. government. In 1944 U.P. govt. sanctioned eighteen thousand and five hundred rupees (Rs 18500/-) for the college. A Managing Committee for the college was elected for managing the college and this system continued till the time of independence. In 1944 the strength of the college was two hundred and twenty five but it increased rapidly afterwards. ¹⁷²

Till 1944, there was a Women's Hall in AMU for the admission of the women candidate in the M.A., B.T. and other higher classes in the university. But in 1944, the Women's Hall was abolished and the university empowered the college to give admission to the candidates directly. The Executive Council of the university declared that the postgraduate students for whom provision for the classes were not

made in the women's college were allowed to attend lectures in the university under *purdah* arrangements. The Women's College was to pay the tuition fees of such students to the university and no additional fee were charged.¹⁷³

The Girls School started in 1907 became a Degree College and reached its peak in 1947. It was all due to the hard work and efforts of Shaikh Abdullah and Begum Abdullah. Due to their affectionate attitude with students they were lovingly known as "Papa Miyan" and "Aala Bi"

AMU in Crisis

The AMU Act of 1920 made the PVC principal academic officer but the relation between VC and PVC were not clearly defined. As a result, it caused a lot of practical difficulties in the day to day working creating undue misunderstanding between them. It was for this reason that the relations between the first Vice Chancellor Raja of Mahmoodabad and Pro Vice Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad got strained. The Raja of Mahmoodabad, during his tenure of Vice Chancellorship (two years and two months), had his stay in Aligarh for less than two weeks. He had attended only nine meetings of the Executive Council out of 28. In such a situation the PVC, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad had to carry all the burden of responsibilities. Even then the relations were far from cordial. Besides, Raja of Mahmoodabad was not able to work as a regular VC because he was too busy with his Home Membership of United Provinces so he resigned from the post of Vice Chancellorship in February 1923.¹⁷⁴

In December 1923 Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was elected unopposed as Vice Chancellor. This could not improve the equation between the Vice Chancellor and the Pro-Vice Chancellor, consequently in April 1925, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad tendered his resignation but it was not accepted. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was requested to continue to work in the interest of the university. Actually the bitterness of the relations was not due to only Raja of Mahmoodabad and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was also equally responsible for it. The Pro-Vice Chancellor had formed a group of his followers from amongst the university staff and actively participated in Indian politics.¹⁷⁵ Although he was a full time Pro-Vice Chancellor, he was a member in the Central Assembly and was permanently appointed member of many different committees. For that purpose he spent most of his time for their work and went to different places like Bangalore, Dhaka, Calcutta, Lucknow, Karachi etc. In this situation the other office bearers of the university could not pay much attention to the university functioning.¹⁷⁶ Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad's liberal policy of admission and

the scheme of private examination and the system of supplementary and compartmental examination was another subject of much controversy.¹⁷⁷

At that time similar propaganda was being made against the university by certain hostile elements. First and foremost among them was the Governor of U.P. Sir William Marris.¹⁷⁸ The other was Mr. Meekenzie¹⁷⁹ the Director of Education in United Provinces. Third was the English daily " Leader" of Allahabad. Added to it was the group politics of the university. All these hostile elements alleged that under the present authority the rules and regulations of the university were being openly violated and the standard of the university was going down.¹⁸⁰

No doubt the university was going through a dark phase. The authorities instead of improving the standard of the university, engaged themselves in setting their personal differences. Another dispute between the VC and the administration arose when the former asked to check the functioning of the examination. The administration did not allow him to interfere.¹⁸¹ It infuriated the VC against the PVC Dr. Ziauddin. All these differences encouraged govt. authorities to pay attention towards the university.

Abdullah Enquiry Committee

Shaikh Abdullah went to Lucknow for some purposes and heard the rumour that government was about to appoint a commission of enquiry to investigate the university affairs. Shaikh Abdullah returned to Aligarh and informed the university authorities and suggested that university itself should appoint an enquiry committee immediately to prove before the government that the university authorities were not unaware of university conditions. Dr. Ziauddin opposed the idea but inspite of his opposition an enquiry committee was formed. Shaikh Abdullah became the president of this committee and the other four members were from amongst the university staff. This committee came to be known as "Abdullah Committee."¹⁸² Just after its formation, Sahibzada Aftab Ahamed Khan went to Mussoorie due to his ailment. Twenty two members of the AMU Court and most of the staff members including Dr. Ziauddin gave their statements regarding the functioning of the university. Finally a report was written which came to be known as "Abdullah Committee Report". One of its copies was sent to Sahibzada Sahib in Mussoorie on Sept 4, 1926.¹⁸³ In this report, among all the recommendations, the recommendation about the admission of students was quite considerable. It was said that the admission of the students should be started from the month of October and closed in November, and no student should be admitted afterwards.

The students were requested 75% attendance for appearing in the exams. But as far as foreign students were concerned they might be given certain concessions and be admitted till the end of the first term of the university. The second thing which the committee had paid attention was about the result of the examinations. Because many students were admitted without solving their residential problems. They were bound to hire rooms in the city outside the university campus. By following Abdullah Committee Report Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan wrote a review (of 39 pages) on the report and send it to the Pro-Vice Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad on 21st September 1926.¹⁸⁴

To sum up of the review it was urged that there should not be any laxity in the matters of law even at the time of necessity and the laws should take precedence over necessity.¹⁸⁵ Sahibzada Sahib also gave instruction about the admission of the students and the date of admission was fixed. The same was ordered for immediate implementation. He wrote "you consider Acts and Ordinances without caring for the Regulations."¹⁸⁶ Sahibzada also accepted that the Regulations which were against the Acts and Ordinances were being prepared by Dr. Ziauddin and placed before the Academic Council but as Vice Chancellor he had the right to veto those Regulations but he did not do so, that's why he was also responsible for mismanagement. But now there was an urgent need not to repeat such mistakes.¹⁸⁷

Dr. Ziauddin gave a very harsh reply to the criticism of Sahibzada Sahib, a few sentences were as follows "..... Unfortunately this time you have been in ailment for whole year and due to heart disease and paralysis you are unaware of the details of the university affairs. This point shows that you have made so many improper objections in your letter. Amongst all of your orders most of them are being implemented."

"I remind you that in my absence when I was in England you had dropped the Regulations prepared by me and formed a committee to prepare the regulations again. Before my returning from England the Academic Council presided by you had accepted most of the Regulations. They were accepted completely by June 1925 and you had announced that by October 1925 they would be implemented."

"In winter 1925 the practical life of the university was paralysed due to jubilee celebrations..... I am working on certain proposals which need to be implemented, rest of the proposals shall be placed before the concerned departments."¹⁸⁸

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan returned from Mussoorie to Aligarh on 6th October, 1926 at the time of opening of the university. His

term of Vice Chancellorship was about to end in December 1926. He decided to be one of the candidates for the election of the Vice Chancellor which was going to be held in December 1926. Sir William Marris Governor of U.P. suggested the name of Nawab Sir Mohammad Muzammilullah Bahadur as one of the candidates for the Vice Chancellor in opposition to Shaibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan. Nawab Sahib had solid support in the Court and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was also one of the supporters.¹⁸⁹ The supporters of Nawab Sahib tried every bit to defame the Sahibzada Sahib. In order to defame Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan the supporters of the Nawab Sahib wrote four letters and distributed among the Court members and got them published in the newspapers. These letters included different question related to different matters of the university and demanded answers from Shaibzada Sahib. The tone of the letters was very ridiculous. After an enquiry two letters duly signed by Haji Maulvi Muqtada Khan Sherwani, Manager University Press, were found. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan placed the matter before Executive Council but no action was taken against the convict except rebuking.¹⁹⁰

Considering that the university atmosphere unfavourable to him. Sahibzada Sahib decided to withdraw his name from the candidature of the Vice Chancellorship. In December 1926 Sahibzada Sahib formally announced that he was no more a candidate for the Vice Chancellorship.¹⁹¹

Allegations and Counter Allegations

On 24th December 1926 Nawab Muzammilullah Khan was elected by the Court for the post of Vice Chancellorship, who started his work from 1st Jan. 1927.¹⁹² In between Sahibzada Sahib published huge pamphlet on 28th December 1926 secretly outside Aligarh but from the university funds. Copies of the pamphlet were given to Sir William Marris, Members of the Court, and its Urdu translation "*Muslim University Ki Maujuda Halat*" was also published on large scale.¹⁹³ According to the most of the Aligarh men this pamphlet necessitated the intervention of the government in the university affairs. But it should not be forgotten that before the propaganda made by the pamphlet of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, the government was fully aware of the situation in Aligarh Muslim University. This fact is proved from a statement of Sahibzada Sahib given below:

"In August and September 1926, I was in Mussoorie Hills, I returned to Aligarh on 6th October and learnt that government of India wanted to enquire about the standard of examination in the Muslim University. So as to know the real facts I met Education Commissioner Mr. Richi in Delhi on October 23, 1926. Mr. Richi said that he had

asked Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad that government was not satisfied with the results of university examinations and Dr. Ziauddin replied that he would place the proposal of enquiry before the University Council. So government was waiting for the answer from Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.”¹⁹⁴

Some members of the Executive Council wanted that government itself should enquire but some others wanted that the university authorities should take its responsibility. But as the Abdullah Enquiry Committee Report was not fully implemented, most of the members were of the opinion that the government should set up the enquiry committee. So it could clearly be said that the pamphlet of Shaibzada Sahib was not fully responsible for setting up the enquiry committee, but it made the way easier. Before discussing the details of the enquiry committee, we must go through the pamphlet of Sahibzada Sahib. No doubt it was the direct attack upon Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and it was his moral responsibility to answer the allegations. The present Vice Chancellor Nawab Muzammilullah also demanded an explanation from Dr. Ziauddin and other staff members against whom the accusation was made. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad gave the statement in 35 pages.¹⁹⁵

In his explanation firstly Dr. Ziauddin expressed about his relations with Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan which were very cordial in the beginning. It is proved that in the special meeting of the Court held on 28th Feb. 1926 for the appointment of Pro-Vice Chancellor, Sahibzada Sahib himself moved for Dr. Ziauddin's re-appointment as Pro-Vice Chancellor in the following words:

“The present Pro-Vice Chancellor's term of office will expire on the 2nd March 1926. I, therefore, propose that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad be re-appointed as Pro-Vice Chancellor of the Muslim University for another term. The university is still young and is in the process of growth and expansion. It needs the guidance and experience of Dr. Ziauddin who had great reputation in the educational world. It needs a Pro-Vice Chancellor who knows the special requirements of the community as well as the educational system which is in the vogue in the country. And our Pro-Vice Chancellor should also be in direct touch with the parents of students in different parts of the country. Dr. Ziauddin fulfills all these conditions. I therefore, recommend his appointment to the members of the Court.”¹⁹⁶

It was surprising that Sahibzada Sahib who supported Dr. Ziauddin for giving him second term as PVC, after eight months he wrote against him in his pamphlet. It says, “I tried my best to work with him but bitter experiences has opened my eyes as it has shown

nie the other side of his personality. After having served for three years as Vice Chancellor, I am of the opinion that the most vital interests of the university are at stake and that its chief characteristics are in jeopardy.¹⁹⁷

From all the above facts it becomes clear that the relations between Sahibzada Sahib and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad became extremely bitter in the last months of Sahibzada's Vice Chancellorship which adversely affected their working relationship.

Sahibzada Sahib complained about the non-existence of the Regulations at the time of his assuming the office. About that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad said that the AMU Act itself provided that at first Ordinances of the university were to be framed under the direction of Governor General in Council. These Ordinances were received by the university in 1923. They did not provide details of the conduct of examinations nor the standard of marks for the classification of successful candidates in various divisions. The framing of Regulations began soon after that and completed in June 1924. The Regulations were to come in force from October 1924 but during the absence of the Pro-Vice Chancellor while he was in England in October 1924, Sahibzada Sahib declared that the Regulations previously made should be treated as null and void and he appointed his own committee which took more than a year to frame the new Regulations which came into operation from January 1926.¹⁹⁸

Another accusation of Shaibzada Sahib was that of "singling out Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf¹⁹⁹ and Lt. M. Hamiduddin Khan²⁰⁰ for extra ordinary promotion". Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad refuted that charge and said that the procedure in every such case was that the promotion was firstly introduced by Pro-Vice Chancellor whose suggestions were scrutinised by the Finance Committee. The recommendations of the Finance Committee were laid before the Executive Council for final approval. Dr. Ziauddin further said that now only two above mentioned persons were singled out but a number of teachers had been promoted following that procedure.²⁰¹

As regards Sahibzada's complaint about non-existence of Islamic Studies, Dr. Ziauddin said that much stress was given on framing the syllabi. Actually the term Islamic Studies was at first used by Mr. Nathan in the report of Decca University. Islamic Studies as understood by Mr. Nathan included the study of Arabic language, Muslim Religion and Muslim Theology. In the Muslim University, Theology was a mere distinct subject and Arabic was also a separate subject. The process designing courses in a new subject presenting peculiar phases must necessarily be slow. The university, under the guidance of Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf, framed courses in Islamic Studies more

than two years ago and the teaching had been started for the last two years and students would be examined in Islamic Studies in April 1927.²⁰²

Regarding Dr. Ataullah Butt, according to the pamphlet of Sahibzada Sahib:

- (i) Dr. Ziauddin appointed him an Honorary Reader of Zoology without any reference to the Vice Chancellor.
- (ii) He maintained Chemist's shop and had a consulting room in the city.

Dr. Ziauddin gave the clarification that in the meeting of the Academic Council held on 20th June 1925, presided over by Sahibzada Sahib, it was recommended that Dr. A. Butt be appointed an Honorary Reader in Zoology. About the second point, a meeting of the Executive Council held on 14th Dec. 1926, Khan Bahadur Syed Zainuddin formally put forward a proposal to this effect. "Dr. Butt be given a Professor's grade and also permitted to practice but he should not keep a consulting room in the city." That reasonable proposal was ruled out of order by Sahibzada Sahib.²⁰³

Sahibzada's allegations that the Readers may not be Chairman of the department. Dr. Ziauddin explained that Readers were appointed Chairman in preference to Professors only in cases where Professors were temporary or teaching in more than one departments or engaged in other executive works.²⁰⁴ He attacked Sahibzada Sahib and said that he had given very incorrect picture of extention lectures and of literary societies in this institution. Weekly lectures were arranged and many societies like English Society, Persian Society, Arabic Society, Anjuman Urdu-i-Mualla, Philosophical Society, Historical Society, Mathematical Society, Physical Society, Scientific Society, Economic Society, Curzon Geographical Society, Poetical Society, Educational Society and Law Society were functioning efficiently.²⁰⁵

As far as objections regarding admission were concerned Dr. Ziauddin cleared that it was impossible to fix a date in the Muslim University. It could only be done in the institute which draw their students from a limited area living under uniform conditons where there was no such diversity. Hence in the Muslim University, the Intermediate College and the school drew students from all parts of India and even from abroad. The examinations of different universities were held at different times of the year. A supplementary list of successful candidates in some universities published as late as December and January. The Admission Committee had to take into consideration all these circumstances.²⁰⁶

Sahibzada's claim about the number of students also did not seem to be correct according to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. He said "the total strength of the students is 850 and those of teachers, excluding the

student demonstrators is 51 is 17. Out of 850 students, 672 reside in hostels and remaining 178 i.e 21% reside with their parents and bona fide guardians. This percentage is within the number prescribed by the clause 2 chapter-II of the ordinances where it is laid down that the number of non-resident students should not exceed 25%. A member of the staff is being appointed as a Warden of Day scholars who visit the houses of day scholars once a month. On account of the jubilee celebrations in October, 1925 it was not possible to scrutinize thoroughly the applications of day scholars, whose number suddenly increased that year on account of the break down of national institutions and students had to rent houses for themselves. They were asked not to rent the houses at the beginning of the new session.²⁰⁷

Sahibzada Sahib has also raised objections regarding staff member's election for the Councils. Dr Ziauddin Ahmad said that this matter was raised many times in the Court. In the Court meeting of December 1923 this question was raised and Court passed the following resolution-

"Resolved that no paid servant of the university shall seek election to the Provincial Legislative Councils, Legislative Assembly or Council of State except with the previous sanction of the Executive Council. Further resolved that this decision will not have retrospective effect."²⁰⁸

This question was raised again at the meeting of the Court on the 4th December 1926, Syed Nisar Husain moved that the members of the Court would not permit the members of the staff to seek election. It was seconded by Maulvi Habibullah Khan but was lost by an almost absolute unanimity. Only three persons out of 40 voted in favour of resolution.²⁰⁹

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad also gave the suitable explanation about religious side of the university, dining hall, efficiency of the staff, election of members of the Court and members of the staff in the Executive Council, standard of examination etc.

Rahmatullah Enquiry Committee

The pamphlet of Sahibzada Sahib was laid before the Court with the explanation of the officers at its meeting held on the 18th March 1927, and the Court passed a vote of confidence in the Vice Chancellor and Pro-Vice Chancellor.²¹⁰ On the other side the Governor of U.P. Sir William Marris persuaded Governor General (Lord Rector) to set up an enquiry committee. The Viceroy as a Lord Rector ordered Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal (Chancellor) to appoint such a committee of enquiry about certain matters indicated in the

pamphlet.²¹¹ As a result the Chancellor of the university appointed an enquiry committee consisting of Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah (Chairman), Sir Philip Hartog and Sir George Anderson (Members) with Mr. A.F. Rahman as Secretary.²¹²

At first the members of the committee met at Bhopal on December 8, 1927 where they were honoured by an interview with Her Highness, Begum of Bhopal. They assembled at Aligarh on October 11, 1927 and then had frequent meetings. An invitation had been sent through medium of leading newspapers to all those interested in the welfare of Aligarh that those who were willing to give evidence should send their names to the Secretary. The committee had also examined the present and past Vice Chancellor, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, Treasurer, Registrar, old boys, members of the Court and many staff members of the university and its allied institutions. The valuable suggestions of Sahibzada and helpful pieces of advice were also received.²¹³

Shaibzada Sahib by enquiring into all the papers, documents, files, books or registers, gave a detailed written statement of 127 pages to the Enquiry Committee.²¹⁴

The committee said about the Aligarh "Aligarh is sacred trust of the whole Musalman community in India. It is a national, and not merely a local institution. Musalmans throughout India and from outside India have given generous support to Aligarh. They have intrusted their sons to its care, they have shown love and devotion to the place and to its traditions". Regarding Abdullah Committee the new committee opined "In Jan. 1926, Mr. Aftab Ahmad, the then Vice Chancellor, appointed a committee of four members of the teaching staff under the Chairmanship of Shaikh Abdullah, the Treasurer, to enquire to the discipline, teaching and other matters connected with university. The committee submitted its report in September of the same year, and we desire to add that the report had been of great assistance to us during the course of our enquiry."²¹⁵

The Rahmatullah Enquiry Committee found about the admission of the students that in 1926 the Regulations came into force which provided that at the beginning of each year, the Admission Committee would frame rules for the admission of students and the PVC was authorised to admit all such students fulfilling the conditions. The PVC had been permitted by Regulations (Ch. 12 section 4) to refuse admission to a student on his own authority and without giving any reason. The PVC therefore became responsible for all admissions and except in the special cases referred to committee for all refusals to admit. Not even a list of students thus admitted by him had been forwarded to the Admission Committee. The Enquiry Report recommended that the Admission Committee should function in future as required by the Act and Ordinances.²¹⁶

The report admitted that the statutes 20, which prescribed that appointments of the teaching staff would be made from a list of persons recommended by a special committee of appointment in each case. First list furnished to the Enquiry Committee signed by the Registrar showed that out of 40 appointments on the list 19 had been without committee of appointment. In the second list only a small number of such appointments was shown. A number of appointments were made by promotion confirmed in a meeting of the Executive Council without previous consideration as to whether the higher post was required or not, without definition of the coinditions of post, without advertisement and without a committee of appointment to consider qualifications of the persons promoted. The Enquiry Committee recommended that this practice should be discontinued. The Enquiry Committee registered strong objection to the appointment of Honorary Readers without taking expert's advise upon the qualification in the subject of their Readership. The committee thought that advertisement should alsmost invariably be resorted to before any permanent teaching post was filled.²¹⁷ A salaried officer and teacher must be appointed on written contract according to section 36 of the Act. A Reader shoud not be appointed as Head if there was a Professor in the department. The report also said that the department should not be started if the university was not able to afford to appoint at least a Reader. Honorary Readers sould not be eligible to act as Head of the departments.²¹⁸ About attendance and discipline the report warned that the leave to the staff should only be granted when suitable arrangements had been made. About the attendance of the students the report clarified that attendance for a student must be 75% of the prescribed lectures. The margin of 25% provided by the Ordinances should be ample to meet all ordinary cases. The PVC should sign the attendance register each month.²¹⁹

Report further said that the enrolment of the students had advanced from 261 in 1921 to 1174 in 1927 and this large increase had imposed an excessive strain on the resources of the university. It had become impossible for a single provost to carryout the duty of supervising the needs of as many as 739 resident students. Moreover, there had been serious overcrowding in the hostels especially in those additional hostels which had been rented by the university to accommodate large overflow of the students. The committee was not satisfied over the provision for supervision which had been made in these additional hostels. The present VC was in agreement with the committee and had already taken some steps to remove these defects. The present Medical Officer in addition to his duties in that capacity was also Chairman of the deptt. of Zoology and had been recently appointed

Principle of the Tibbiya College. The committee recommended that in order to discharge efficiently his duties, Medical Officer of the university would be a whole time officer. He should not merely be concerned with the students when they actually fell ill but should take steps to improve the health of the students by making proposals for better sanitation and for other preventive measures. He should report to the appropriate authority every month on the general health of the students and should be responsible for the inspection of the university area. Many complaints had been made regarding dining hall which did not appear to the committee to be without justification. The committee recommended therefore that an enquiry should immediately be made into its management and supervision.²²⁰

The report also opined about the department of studies that there was a tendency to initiate new departments without firstly taking into account the staff and the demand for such departments. So the committee advised that before creating a new department, care should also be taken to ascertain that there was demand for the subject and the necessary staff was available. The general working of these new departments and expenditure to be incurred on them should be carefully scrutinised by appropriate authorities.²²¹

The problem about standard of examination was extremely complex before Enquiry Committee. Yet it had given certain important suggestions. It suggested to improve the number of external examiners and the suggestions made in their report should be carefully considered by the Academic Council. The percentage of marks both for pass and for a different classes and divisions should be embodied in the Ordinances relating to all degree. The Registrar should make all arrangements for the appointment of invigilators, subject to the approval of the PVC acting on behalf of the Academic Council. At each examination centre, a superintendent or head invigilator should be appointed with a necessary authority to take prompt action where candidates were detected in using unfair means. In case when candidate detected in copying had been re-admitted in examination room and in other similar cases must be suspended for two years instead of one. The question of suspension in all cases should be decided by the Academic Council. Special examination (taking examination for the same degree course in later date than prescribed by Academic council) should only be allowed in very exceptional circumstances and with the previous sanction of the Academic Council. The committee was not satisfied with the way the students were allowed to appear in the university examinations and even to receive degrees without paying dues. The committee regarded it as unjustified. In certain cases the results of degree examinations were

withheld until the fees due had been paid. No hall ticket should be issued to him till that was certified.²²²

The report also threw light upon the examination of private candidates. The right of appearing as a private candidate for the degree examinations was limited by the Act to teachers in several categories. The right for the intermediate examinations was limited under certain conditions to the teachers and also to such persons as had been certified as suitable by the Inspector of Schools appointed in this behalf by the local government. There was no Ordinance in regulating the admission of private candidates to the High School examination. Undoubtedly a liberal policy had been adopted, it was clear from the figure that 237 students appeared for private candidates in 1925, 402 in 1926. The report suggested that those who were enrolled in a recognised school not have been admitted either as regular or as a private candidate except those enrolled in school maintained or affiliated by the university in accordance with section 12 (ii) of the Act. For those who had ceased to be enrolled in recognized school for a period of seven months, special care should be taken to admit them. The report also recommended that it must be stated on each certificate whether the successful candidate had passed the examination as regular or a private candidate.²²³

Another problem before the Enquiry Committee was contesting of staff members for election to a Legislature and taking part in it. In 1923 Dr. Ziauddin the PVC and Dr. Hyder Professor of Economics were elected to the Legislative Council and to the Legislative Assembly respectively. Mr. Habib, Professor of History was also elected a member of the Provincial Legislative Council. Dr. Ziauddin did not stand for re-election. The committee recommended that the university teachers should not be permitted to stand for election to the Legislature. If the Legislature allowed a seat to the university on its own, there would be no objection to a teacher of the university to standing for that seat.²²⁴

The report also suggested about the allied institution of the university like Intermediate College, Training College and Muslim University School. It said about the Inter College and school that²²⁵

- a. College and school should be regarded as separate institution.
- b. The Managing Committee should be vested with responsible powers and duties.
- c. A suitable grant should be provided annually by the university.
- d. Subject to the provision of that grant all the arrangements for the management of the college and school should be made by a committee.
- e. The university should be represented on the committee of the

management and should exercise the right of auditing and inspection. It also advised that number of students in Intermediate College should be curtailed and more trained teachers be appointed in Training College.

As far as finance was concerned the report said that the expenditure needed more checking in detail than was exercised. Building department should be over hauled by a competent Architect or Engineer, who would be asked to advise on its future organisation.²²⁶

The report recommended about the Court that written votes should be permissible in the election of the member's of the Court. The financial year should begin from 1st October. The meeting of the Court should be held in April for consideration of the budget and second meeting in December for supplementary budget. It also said that no salaried officer or teacher of the university should be elected to the Court by any other body except the Academic Council.²²⁷

Regarding Executive Council, the Enquiry Committee Report opined that the number of the representative of the Academic Council should be reduced from six to two. Members of the Executive Council living outside Aligarh should receive travelling expences on a moderate scale. Not more than seven of the members elected by Court should be resident outside the U.P., Punjab and Delhi.²²⁸ About Academic Council the committee suggested that the Provost also should be the members along with the Professors. The other new includes should be that one person not engaged in teaching to be co-opted by the AC, two members of the teaching staff lower in rank than a Professor to be elected annually by members of the staff other than AC.²²⁹

The report recommended about the Vice Chancellor that if any emergency arose which called for an urgent action, the Vice Chancellor would take it. He would report within seven days to the officer, authority having practical experience and they would inform on record about the action so taken.²³⁰ As far as the duties of the Registrar were concerned the report said that the Registrar should see that the resolutions of Academic and Executive Council were complied with. He should assist the VC in enforcing the Act, Statutes, Ordinances and Regulations.²³¹ The post of Treasurer was also very important. The committee thought each cheque drawn on the university funds should have two signatures, one of which should be that of the Treasurer, so long as he was available and the other signature should be that of one of the three officers- the Vice Chancellor, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, the Registrar. In the absence of the Treasurer, the signature of two of the other three officers should be provided for.²³²

The report further said that the main trouble lay in the division of powers between Vice Chancellor and Pro-Vice Chancellor. Under the

present system the Vice Chancellor was an executive head and the Pro-Vice Chancellor was the academic head of the university. The supreme authorities except in matters of emergency were not the Vice Chancellor or the Pro-Vice Chancellor but the Court, the Executive Council and the Academic Council. It should be the aim of both officers to be loyal to the AMU and to ensure that the quality of its staff and the opportunities given to the students would be second to none in India. Acting loyally in accordance with the constitution of university they would set an example of loyalty and discipline among the staff and students.²³³

The committee also wrote about Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad "We favour Dr. Ziauddin's educational ability, his long services in the college and thereafter university and deep passion of love with Aligarh, but we are sorry to say that in recent difficulties in view of his near relations his continued service in the university shall be contrary to new spirit of good management and progress, which is necessary for subsequent success of university. Most probably this shall be the better way for Dr. Ziauddin that he takes leave before retirement."²³⁴

After completing enquiry the committee submitted its report to Her Highness, the Chancellor on 9th November 1927 who very graciously wrote memorandum and got both issued to the members of the Court towards the end of March 1928. Immediate steps were taken by university bodies to give effect to as many recommendation as could be done without delay.²³⁵ Government of India was also satisfied that the university authorities were making sincere and earnest efforts to remedy the defects in the functioning of AMU as revealed by the report of the Enquiry Committee.²³⁶

Dr. Ziauddin's Resignation

To give effect to the recommendations of the report, Dr. Ziauddin submitted his resignation to the Vice Chancellor on 26th March 1928 and it became effective from 27th April 1928.²³⁷

The Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dr. Ziauddin's resignation was as follows " My dear Nawab Sahib.....For the few years of the existence of the university we had no Ordinances and no Regulations. In my annual reprot read in Feb. 1924, I wrote the follwing passage :²³⁸

"The Ordinances of the AMU were not received till June 1923 and during the first 18 months of its existence, the VC was invested by government of India with power to frame any Ordinance or Regulation or to set aside any section of the Act or Statutes. In the universities it is the first occasion when a single individual, not on the spot has been invested with autocratic powers extended for such a

longtime. It is a miracle that we did not succumb altogether during this interval."

"During my term of office I unfortunately has to face three special difficulties :

- (i) Honarary Secretary and VC did not give me sufficient support and, at times, they delebrately created rival party in the staff.
- (ii) I never had a complete office.
- (iii) Some members of the staff never cooperated with me and they formed a solid group in the Academic Council. On assuming the charge of your office, you made honest efforrt to restore solidarity among the staff and you know yourself how your effort were defeated."

"The PVC according to the present constitution, has got responsibilities for running the entire institution, but he has no power even to stop the ordinary increment of an insufficient and negligent member of staff. Every thing depend on the will of the VC, who may or may not place the suggestion of the PVC before the Executive Council. The late VC Raja of Mahmoodabad gave orders in writing that the PVC had no right to send any suggestion dierct to Executive Council. This practic has since been followed. His position is just opposite to that of the dictator."

"I wish better luck to my successor but I feel that the institution is faced with crucial difficulty. The PVC has got all the responsibilites without power and VC has got power without the responsibilities....Ever since 1925 I have been attempting to resign my post as PVC. On the 27th April 1925 after completing 30 years service, I requested the late VC to relieve me of my duties as PVC from October 1925, but he in his letter dated 1st May, 1925 induced me not to resign in the interest of the university. A year later in 1926 he proposed my re-appointment."

"After the retirement of the Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan I requested you in May 1927 to relieve me from my present duties, you verbally told me to wait till the committee of enquiry had submitted its report. I also add that during my stay in Aligarh I had offers of several posts in various deptts. But I declined them all in order to be true to the promise which I had made at the time of my appointment."

"I am now convinced that I can do better service to the institution by withdrawing my formal connection with university and I most readily do the service by submitting my resignation which I request you to accept at an early date in manner that may be acceptable to you and Executive Council"

When his resignation was accepted, many farewell parties were given by different personalities, societies and deptts. Curzon

Geographical Society during the farewell said...."Sir you have devoted 33 long years of your precious life to the cause of education and the service of this great national institution....you have always remain true to your national institution, inspite of so many temptation, your services have been unrevelled and invaluable...."²³⁹ Scientific Society,²⁴⁰ Economic society²⁴¹, members of the Math's deptt.²⁴² gave an impressive address during the farewell to Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. Dr. L.K. Hyder Prof. of Economics and member of Royal Agricultural Commission also made a memorable speech at the time of Dr. Ziauddin's farewell.²⁴³ Mohd Imamullah Khan, a brilliant students of M.A made a cordial speech during his farewell.²⁴⁴

References

1. *Hayat-ul-Bashir*, p.89
2. *AMU Calender*, 1921-25, p.513
3. *Ibid*
4. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p.288
5. *Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, 1935, p.440 (Here after cited as 'IAR')
6. *IAR*, Vol II, 1939p.488
7. *IAR*, Vol. II, 1934, pp. 540-41
8. *Ibid*, pp. 504-42
9. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 160
10. *IAR*, Vol. II, 1938, pp. 482-4-84
11. *Ibid*,p. 407
12. *Ibid* p. 490
13. Hasan, Abul; *AMU Aligarh, Addresses and Speeches*. Aligarh, 1987, p. 53 (Here after cited as ' Addresses and Speeches ')
14. *Ibid*, p.8
15. *File No. II/7, 1922-23 (AA)*
16. *File No. XV/2, 1923-24 (AA)*
17. *File No. 4(I), 1930-31 (AA)*
18. *IAR*, Vol. II, p. 480
19. *Ibid*
20. The word Turkish coat is a misnomer. There is nothing Turkihs about it. It is really a coat designed in Aligarh and it should more appropriately be called a coat of Aligarh cut. (*AIG*, 14 Nov.1935)
21. *AMU Calender*, 1932, pp.297-298 (AA) and *File No. IV/I,1924 (AA)*
22. *AIG*, 14th Nov, 1935
23. *AIG*, 12th December 1935
24. *File No. XV/2, 1923-24 (AA)*
25. *AIG*, 10th October 1935
26. *AMU Calender*, 1921-25, pp.104-107
27. *Zia-i-Hayat*, pp. 87-90 See also *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol.II, p.304
28. *File No. 5I, 1923-24 (AA)*
29. Vice-Chancellor's Report to the AMU Court meeing held on 24th Dec. 1923, *File No.5I 1923-24 (AA)*
30. *The Times*, London, 8 August, 1924 (*File No. 4/2 (I), 1924*) (AA)
31. Khan, Habibullah, *Hayat-i-Aftab*, Allahabad, 1947, pp. 306-9 (Here after cited as 'Hayat-i-Aftab')
32. *Zia-i-Hayat*, pp. 90-91

33. *Ibid*

34. *Ibid*

35. *Ibid*

36. *Ibid*

37. Lucknow, Rs. 493720 Allahbad Rs. 666750, BHU Rs. 1230000, AMU.Rs 43308 (*Ibid*)

38. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 310-11. In *Zia-i-Hayat*, Aftab Ahmad is said to have praised the working and organisation of training college.

39. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 111

40. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, p. 311

41. *Ibid*, pp. 312-313

42. *Ibid*, pp. 320 & 324

43. *Ibid*, pp. 313-314

44. *Ibid*

45. *Ibid*, pp. 314-315

46. *Ibid*, pp. 320 & 324

47. *Ibid*, pp. 317-329

48. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol II, pp. 76-77. See also Qureshi, Isthrat Ali, *Aligarh Past and Present*, Aligarh, 1992, p. 98 (Hereafter quoted as *Past and Present*)

49. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, p. 342

50. *Ibid*

51. In 1920 when the AMU came into existence there were 261 students. Gradually the number went on increasing. But many students get their admissions transferred to the National Muslim University during the eventful years of 1920-22. This naturally led to the decline in the number of students in the AMU. Dr. Ziauddin as PVC made vigorous efforts not only to maintain the interest of the students but also in increasing the number of students through fresh admissions. In March 1924 he instituted ten rewards to the students to encourage fresh admissions to the university. There were other social and charitable organisations in the campus which through their generous contributions to the needy students helped in increasing the number of students. (*Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 109)

52. *Ibid*, pp. 109

53. *Ibid*, pp. 111-112

54. *Ibid*, pp. 111-112

55. *Ibid*

56. *Ibid*, pp. 113-114

57. *Ibid*

58. *Ibid*, p.117

59. *Ibid*

60. *Court Minutes of AMU*, 1926, p. 7

61. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 346 & 352

62. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 96

63. *File No. 51, 1926-27 (AA)*

64. *Past and Present*, p. 98

65. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 98

66. *AIG, 7th March, 1926*

67. *File No. IV/1, 1926-27 (AA)*

68. *File No. XV/3, 1925-26 (AA)*

69. *Aligarh Magazine*, Oct. Dec. (1929p(K))

70. *Urdu* (Masood Number), 1937, pp. 837-838 See also *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 298

71. *Aligarh Magazine*, Jan & Feb.1929 pp. 4-5 See also *Urdu* (Masood Number), 1937, p. 836

72. *Urdu* (Masood Number), 1937, pp. 875-876, p. 887

73. *Aligarh Magazine*, Oct-Dec. 1929, p.(L)

74. *File No. 51, 1928-29 (AA)*

75. *Aligarh Magazine*, Oct-Dec. 1929 p. (L)

76. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. I, p.298

77. *AMU Annual Report*, 1931, p. 2

78. Anderson, Sir George, *Progress of Education in India 1927-32*, Delhi, p.73
(Hereafter cited as 'Progress 1927-32')

79. *IAR*, 1931, Vol. II, p.113

80. *Ibid (AA)* See also *File No. 51 (I) 1930-31 (AA)*

81. *File No. IV/2 1931-32 (AA)* See also *AMU Annual Report 1933*, p.2

82. *File No. 51, 1933-34 (AA)*

83. *File No. XVII/2, 1930-31 (AA)*

84. *Past & Present*, p. 99

85. *AMU Annual Report*, 1931 (AA)

86. *File No. 51, 1934-35 (AA)*

87. *File No. 51, 1929-30 and 1931-32 (AA)*

88. *AMU Annual Report*, 1933, p. 20 (AA) See also *File No. 51, 1934-35 (AA)*

89. Coatman, J., *India 1933-34*, Delhi, 1935, p. 179 See also *Aligarh Magazine*, December 1932, p. 3; *File No. IV-2, 1931-32*, P.7 (AA); *Urdu*, (Masood Number), pp. 763-765 and *Past & Present*, p. 101

90. *Urdu*, (Masood Number), pp. 840-41 See also *AMU Annual Report 1934*, p.1 (AA)

91. Aggarwal, J.C. *Landmarks in the History of Modern Indian Education*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 49

92. *AMU Annual Report*, 1935, pp.1,2 and 5 (AA) See also *IAR*, 1937, Vol I p.411

93. *IAR, 1935, Vol. II, p.36*

94. *File No. 51, 1935-36 (AA)*

95. *Addresses and Speeches*, p. 65

96. *File No. 604/36 (UPSAL)* See also *AMU Annual Report*, 1936 (AA)

97. *File No. 62, 1938-44 (AA)*

98. *Ibid*

99. *File No. 51, 1935-40 (AA)*

100. *AMU Annual Report*, 1944, p.2

101. *File No. 51, 1941-42 (AA)* See also *AMU Annual Report*, 1944, pp. 1 & 2

102. *Past and Present*, p. 104

103. *AMU Annual Report*, 1944, p.2

104. *Ibid*, p.3

105. *File No. 51, 1945-46 (AA)*

106. *Ibid*

107. *Past & Present*, p. 103

108. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 177

109. *AIG*, 15th July, 1943, See also *File No. 51, 1942-43 (AA)* and *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 179

110. *AIG* 15 July, 1943 See also *Zia-i-Hayat*, p.177

111. *AIG* 15th July, 1943 See also *File No. 51, 1942-43 (AA)* and *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 180

112. *AIG* 15th July, 1943 See also *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 182

113. *Ibid*

114. *Ibid*

115. *IAR*, 1st June 1943

116. *AIG*, 1st June 1943

117. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, P. 314

118. *File No. XV/3, 1923-24 (AA)*

119. File No. XV/3, 1926-27 (AA)

120. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 14

121. *AMU Annual Report*, p. 1944, p. 2

122. *Past & Present*, p. 104

123. *Ibid*

124. *AMU Annual Report*, 1947, p. 2

125. File No. XV/3, 1926-27 (AA)

126. File No. 51, 1924-25 (AA)

127. File No. 51, 1937-38 (AA)

128. *Ibid*

129. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 14

130. File No. 51, 1938-39

131. File No. 51, 1940-41 (AA)

132. *Past & Present*, P. 102

133. File No. 53/4, 1940-41 (AA)

134. File No. 51, 1942-43 (AA)

135. *AIG*, 28th April, 1926

136. File No. IV/1, 1927-28 (AA)

137. *India in 1929-30*, p. 347

138. *India in 1930-31*, P. 472

139. *AMU Annual Report*, 1933, p. 161

140. File No. 51, 1931-32 (AA)

141. *AMU Annual Report*, 1933, p. 161

142. File No. 51, 1935-36 (AA)

143. *Ibid*, 1938-39 (AA)

144. *Ibid*, 1939-40 (AA)

145. File No. 51, 1942-43 (AA) See also File No. 51, 1943-44 (AA)

146. *AMU Annual Report*, 1944, p. 11

147. *India in 1930-31*, p. 472

148. *AMU Annual Report*, 1931, p. 4

149. *Muslim University Girls High School Magazine*, 1964-65-66, p. 28 See also *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. III, p. 17

150. *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, p. 198

151. *Ibid*, pp. 198-199

152. *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp. 200-201, In the *Muslim University Girls High School Magazine* of 1964-65-66, it is said that the Governor granted Rs. 7000.00 for the building purposes. (*Muslim University Girls High School Magazines*, 1964-65-66, p. 28)

153. Hamid Hasan Tehsildar spread the rumour that once an Ekkawala who was carrying a girl students entered his walled Ekka and came out after a long time and then he carried her to the school. This rumour created a bad effect to the school. Shaikh Abdullah went to the school for further enquiry then he met the Tehsildar. The Tehsildar began to swear and refused to even know this rumour. (*Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp. 202-203)

154. *Ibid*, pp. 203-204

155. *Ibid*, pp. 205-203

156. *Ibid*, pp. 207, 208

157. *Ibid*, pp. 211-212

158. *Ibid*, p. 220

159. *Ibid*, p. 221

160. Abdullah, Shaikh Muhammad. *Mushahidat-o-Taassurat*, Delhi-1969, p. 338

161. *Ibid*, p. 334

162. *Ibid*

163. *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, p. 221-222

164. *Ibid*, p. 223

165. *Ibid*, p. 2123

166. *Ibid*, p. 224

167. *Ibid*, p. 223-225

168. *Ibid*, p. 226

169. *File No. 41/3, 1939-40 (AA)*

170. *IAR*, Vol. II, 1941, P. 121

172. *Ibid*

172. *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp. 225-226

173. *File No. 41/1, 1943-44 (AA)*

174. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 155

175. *Ibid*

176. *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp. 349-50

177. *Past & Present*, p.97

178. He has been the collector in Aligarh and had bitter discord with Viqarul Mulk in which he was insulted. He had also written articles against the MAO College in 1914-15 in newspapers in England. (*Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 157)

179. He was having personal commotion not only with the university but Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad. He was the first person who tried to defame the university by talking about the standard of examination . (*Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 157)

180. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 99

181. *File No. 78/3, 1927-28 (AA)*

182. Shaikh Abdullah said " Dr. Ziauddin came to see me at my residence and said that he would not oppose the committee if he was also included the committee. Then I told him that this committee was for the inspection of your work. Would it be right to make you to judge your own work?". (*Hayat-i-Abdullah*, p. 327)

183. *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, p. 328

184. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 358-359

185. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 99

186. *Ibid*

187. *Ibid*, p.100

188. *Ibid*, p. 100 See also *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 359-360

189. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 103 See also *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p.157

190. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 362-363

191. *Ibid*, p. 364

192. *Ibid*

193. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 103 See also *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 78

194. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 366-367

195. *Zia-i-Hayat*, pp. 103-104

196. *Explanation of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad*. Vilayat Manzil, Aligarh, 1928 p.2 (here after quoted as 'Explanation')

197. *Ibid*

198. *Ibid*, pp. 4-5

199. He was appointed in the year 1909 by the late Nawab Viqarul Mulk in the Deptt. of Theology. The grade as Assistant Professor was given to him a year later at the time of his confirmation. Not only Theology but he had also been given teaching classes in Arabic & Persian to the post graduate level. Since the inception of the university Maulana Sulaiman Ashraf had the sole charge of teaching Sunni Theology (*Explanation*, p.6)

200. Mr. Hamiduddin Khan rendered valuable services during Non Cooperation crisis. As a teacher of Persian Mr. Hamiduddin Khan comparable with any Professor of Persian in any other University. (*Explanation* p. 6)

201. Messrs. Inamullah Khan, Allah Baksh, F.D. Murad and A.M. Qureishy had been promoted to the ranks of Readers in April 1921. Messrs. Mohammad Habib and A.B.A. Haleem promoted to rank of Professor, in September 1923.

Maulana Abdul Haqqi promoted to the Reader's grade on 12th Dec. 1923. Mr. Mukhtar Ahmad Khan's grade was revised on the 17th Dec. 1923. M. Habibur Rahman's grade was revised on 3rd Nov. 1924. Mr. Hadi Hasan was appointed Professor on 10th March 1925. (*Explanation*, pp 5-6)

202. *Explanation*, pp. 7-8
203. *Ibid.*, p. 8-10
204. *Ibid.*, p. 10-11
205. *Ibid.*, p. 11-12
206. *Ibid.*, p. 13
207. *Ibid.*, p. 15
208. *Ibid.*, p. 15
209. *Ibid.*, p. 19
210. *File IV/1, 1927-28 (A-A)*
211. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 123
212. Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah was the Chairman of Bombay, Sir Philip Hartog was member in Public Service Commission, Sir George Anderson was Director of Education in Punjab and Mr. A.F. Rahman was the provost of the Muslim Hall in Decca University. (*Hayat-i-Aftab*, p. 383 See also *File No. IV/1, 1927-28 (AA)*)
213. *Report of the AMU Enquiry Committee*, pp. 1-2 (Hereafter quoted as *Enquiry Report*)
214. *Hayat-i-Aftab*, p. 375-78 See also *File No. 789/3, 1927-28 (AA)*
215. *Enquiry Report*, pp. 7-8
216. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9
217. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8
218. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9
219. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10
220. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11
221. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12
222. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14
223. *Ibid.*, pp. See also *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 396-97
224. *Enquiry Report*, p. 17 See also *Hayat-i-Aftab*, pp. 397-98
225. *Enquiry Report*, p. 19-21
226. *Ibid.*, p. 21
227. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23, See also *Executive Council Report*, 9th April 1928, pp. 8-9 (Hereafter quoted as *EC Report*)
228. *Enquiry Report*, p. 24 See also *EC Report*, 1928 pp.6-10
229. *Enquiry Report*, p. 24
230. *Ibid.*, p. 27
231. *Ibid.*, p.28 See also *EC Report*, 1928, p.11
232. *Enquiry Report*, p. 28
233. *Ibid.*, p. 27
234. *Zia-Hayat*, p. 216.
235. *File No. 78/4, 1929-30 (AA)* See also *Hayat-i-Aftab*, p. 388
236. *Ibid.*, 1929-30 (AA), See also *Hayat-i-Aftab*, p.288
237. *Past and Present*, p. 98
238. *Aligarh Magazine*, 1928, pp.iv-v
239. *Ibid.*, 1928, pp. iv-v
240. *Ibid.*, 1928, p.xxiv
241. *Ibid.*,p. xxv
242. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii
243. *Ibid.*, p. Li
244. "Allahi Shabe Gham Men Itna To Ho,
 Koi Jhoot kah De Sahar Ho Gai" (*Aligarh Magazine*, 1928, p. xxi)

AMU'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT : 1920-37

Political Developments in Aligarh till 1920

Political Ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Sir Syed was one of those dynamic, progressive and radical revolutionary personalities of history who have moulded the destinies of nations and changed the course of history. He began the work of regeneration of Muslims in the dreadful aftermath of 1857. The failure of the first war of India's independence not only resulted in putting an end to the political sway of the Muslim's in India but they being the bitter enemy were persecuted by the British in all walk of life. They found themselves at the lowest ebb in the history of India. It was at this crucial turn of history that Sir Syed rose with courage, conviction, restlessness and burning passion to mould the destiny of the Indian Muslims. His M.A.O. College which he had founded gradually and systematically working towards his coveted goal. The great luminaries of the age, Hali, Shibli, Zakaullah, Mohsinul Mulk, Viqarul Mulk, Nazir Ahmad etc. who clustered round his magnetic personality extended their worthy help to the great reformer.

After great efforts, he had succeeded in changing the opinion and attitude of the British government towards Muslims. He totally opposed the active participation of the Muslims that's why in 1885 when the Indian National Congress was founded Sir Syed opposed the Muslim entry in that organisation. A few years earlier he also had declined to support the National Mohammadan Association founded in 1877 by Justice Ameer Ali of Calcutta. He said, "In my opinion, it is not proper for the Muslims to make any political agitation."

Sir Syed thought that the Muslim's entry in the active politics would create a hindrance in British help, cooperation and in his mission of Muslim's upliftment. So his attitude towards Congress should not be given any communal colour. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, while discussing Sir Syed's attitude towards Congress in his book, *The Discovery of India*, said, "He was not opposed to the Indian National Congress because he considered it predominantly a Hindu organization,

he opposed it because he thought it was politically too aggressive and he wanted British help and cooperation....He was in no way anti-Hindu or communally separatist.”²

Sir Syed’s opposition to the Congress had the following consideration for Muslims welfare uppermost in his mind :³

1. The Congress had tried to show that the Hindus and the Muslims were both united in this agitation. He was afraid that if something untowards happened as a result of this agitation the Musims would again be accused of all consequences.
2. He has realized as far back as 1857 that the Muslims would gain by allying themselves with the British.
3. Muslim’s backwardness.
4. The Aligarh leaders were obsessed with an overweening idea of their political power and importance and consequently held themselves aloof from the national movement.

Sir Syed once said that Indian Muslims must depend on the British for safeguarding of their interests and for their effective representation. He asked the Muslims to unite with British government.⁴

His opposition to the Indian National Congress was based upon his personal experiences keeping in view of the ultimate good of the Muslims as understood by him. He had seen the unprecedented loss of life and property of the Indian Muslims as a consequence of their active participation in the revolt of 1857. The ruling class hated the Muslims and called them “conspirators, rebels and untrustworthy” Hence the rulers did not trust the Muslim community. Sir Syed wished to bridge the gap. He therefore began to work ceaselessly in bringing the British ruling class and the Muslim closer to one another through his writings, speeches and actions. It however does not mean that he was totally against the naionalist movement and spirit of nationalism. He was of the view that the participation of the Muslims at this stage in political activities would be premature. They should first acquire education attain perfection in various worldly affairs and decide their own political course.

Formation of Muslim League

After the death of Sir Syed Ahmd Khan, the duty of nursing the Muslim society fell upon his freinds and associates like Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin etc. It must not be forgotten that it was the period when the British government gave more impulse to its policy of divide and rule and started to woo the Muslim intellegentsia by promising them to share in the power. It created a rift between the Hindus and Muslims and ultimately with the instigation of the British government, the

Muslims founded an organization called Muslim League.

In 1905 due to the divide and rule policy of the British government Lord Curzon divided the Bengal into two halves one was dominated by the Muslims and other was Hindu dominated area. This division hurt the Indian sentiments and as a result Swadeshi and Boycott movements were started. A voice of opposition was raised from each and every corner of the country. Almost all the nationalists particularly Hindus participated in these movements. But some Muslim leaders felt it a danger to the Muslim interest as Lord Curzon had convinced them that the partition of Bengal was only a move to give more powers to the Muslims of Bengal. So these Muslim leaders decided to meet the Viceroy and put before him certain demands for Muslims security and interest in India.⁵

At the indication of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk Syed Husain Bilgrami very carefully drafted an address which was to be put before the Viceroy. He sent its copies to leading Muslims all over India to elicit their opinion. On certain issues many difference arose and to sink these differences Nawab Mohsinul Mulk called a meeting in Lucknow on Sep. 16, 1906 to discuss the draft and get final approval for it. In this meeting after a long discussion the draft was given a final shape. This meeting also authorized Mohsinul Mulk to select the members for deputation.⁶

On October 1, 1906 a deputation of 35 members headed by H.H. Agha Khan including Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, Nawab Viqarul Mulk, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Nawab Muzammilullah, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Nawab Mohd. Ismail, Sir Ali Imam, Omar Hayat Khan and other prominent Muslim leaders from different parts of the country reached Shimla to present their address to the Viceroy Lord Minto.⁷

In their address they drew the Viceroy's attention to their political importance and the value of the contribution they made to the protection of the Empire. The inadequate Muslim participation in the judiciary, local bodies and university bodies was highlighted. The existing method of election was also criticised for the insufficiency of Muslim representation of local self govt. institution and Legislative Council. The address asked the Viceroy for Muslims the right to select their representatives by electorates confined exclusively to their community. The address also demanded that Muslim representation should be proportionate not merely to their numerical strength but should reflect the significance of their community as an important factor.⁸

The Viceroy very cautiously replied "you have addressed me , gentlemen at a time when a political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it.....your address, as I understand it, is a claim, that in any

system of representation....in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohammadan community should be represented as a community and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the empire....I am entirely in accord with you....I am as firmly convinced as I believed you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the deputation of this continent."⁹

Lord Minto also assured the deputation that their political rights and interests would be safeguarded in administration with which he was concerned.¹⁰

The Viceroy fully encouraged the Shimla deputation, so these prominent Muslim leaders began to think to unite the Muslims in the form of an association. The first step was taken by Nawab Salimullah of Decca. When the Muhammadan Educational Conference was over on Dec. 30, 1906 at Decca, Nawab Salimullah Khan convened a meeting to discuss the scheme of a Muslim organization. Nawab Viqarul Mulk was voted to the chair and he addressed that time and circumstances made it necessary for Mohammadans to unite in an association so as to make their voice heard above the din of other vociferous parties in India across wide sea to Engaland.¹¹ He clarified the position of Congress that it served the country but he also regretted its revolutionary methods of attaining the objects, their harsh and ill worded speeches against the British.¹² Nawab Salimullah Khan while introducing his scheme said that there was a special need for increasing political activity on the part of Muslim community as only those who cried loudest had a chance of being heard.¹³ The resolution put before assembly for vote was as follows:¹⁴

"Resolved that this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Decca decided that a political association be formed, styled All-India Muslim League for furtherance of the following objects:"

- (a) 'To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British govt. and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the government with regard to any of its measures.'
- (b) 'To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and

aspirations to the government.'

(c) 'To prevent the rise, among the Muslims of India, of any feelings of hostility towards other objects of the League.'

The resolution was supported by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Shaikh Abdullah and Maulana Mohd. Ali alongwith a number of other Muslim delegates, and the All India Muslim League was founded accordingly.¹⁵ The work of the Muslim League was to unite to Muslims of India, to demand and get share in the power and remain loyal to the British government. The Act of 1909 was the reward of the Muslim League in which they got the historic separate electorate.

Anti-British Feelings in Aligarh

The Tripoli War started in 1911 caused great concern among Indian Muslims. The Aligarh Institute Gazette reproduced the resolution passed by the Muslim League appealing the British govt. to put a stop to this brutal war, giving proof of their being the traditional supporter of Turkey.¹⁶

Aligarh students responding to the call, contributed to the funds raised for Tripoli victims, began, to boycott the Italian goods. Petty shopkeepers and servants followed the same.¹⁷

Maulana Azad also had a very critical attitude towards Italy and encouraged Muslims to extend hope in favour of Turkey. In his paper Al-Hilal, he said that Muslims should keep in mind the fact that the European powers were making an attempt to oust Islam from Europe through their formidable influence. But the same ambition was not new to Islam because it had been facing these ambitions for the last thirteen hundred years. Although almost everything in the world has undergone drastic change but God remains the same, totally unchanged and even today He can perform miracles.¹⁸

The Tripoli was thus had a great impact on the educated Muslims especially of Aligarh. Most of the Aligarh Muslims had very much expectations from England. But British government's announcement of neutrality in the war and directives to subjects to remain neutral, warning them of desist from its violation was an eye opener to the Muslims of Aligarh.¹⁹ Turkey was finally defeated but the British govt. did not help the Turkey on the repeated request of the Indian Muslims. It frustrated particularly Aligarh Muslims because they had much expectations from the British govt.

Soon after the Tripoli war, Balkan war began from October 1912. During the progress of this war, anti-British feelings gained ground among educated young Muslims especially at Aligarh.²⁰ On 17th October 1912 after the Friday prayer at the MAO College mosque the Muslims prayed for Turkish betterment. On 27th October, 1912,

even non-Muslims gathered at Aligarh and expressed their sympathy with Turkey while demanding the release of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.²¹ Maulana Shaukat Ali proposed volunteers to fight against Balkans and asked for government's help.²² But the British govt. pleaded and advised neutrality. Most of the Aligarh teachers, students and other Muslims felt that the Balkan war was not merely a political but a religious war. This consideration was based upon the fact that the Austrians and Russians were supporting and helping the Balkan states.²³ It is interesting that the Balkan issue was not confined to the folk of the Indian Muslim community but for the first time in the history of modern times, the Muslim ladies also came out boldly to condemn the Balkan war. On 29th November, 1912 Mrs. Mahmood Begum arranged a meeting of women in Aligarh and delivered a stirring speech persuading them to donate liberally to the victims of the Balkan war. She argued that it would be a participation by Muslim ladies in the Holy war.²⁴ She thus succeeded in raising a sum of about Rs. 1358/-.²⁵

Maulana Shibli on the commencement of the Balkan war in October 1912 was very much grieved and wrote a poetry entitled "*Shahr-Ashoob-i-Islam*".²⁶ In this poem Maulana Shibli described that how Islam is being attacked by combined European forces.

The MAO College students became very much emotional due to the war and the British diplomacy. To raise money for Turkey they decided not to eat meat and rice.²⁷ They also demanded that the total of the fund collected for the establishment of the Muslim University should be given to Turkey. But trustees of the college ignored this proposal.²⁸ A medical mission led by Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari accompanied by Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Shoaib Peshawari from MAO School was sent to Turkey in December 1912.²⁹

The Turkish issue had created a chasm among the trustees, teachers and students at Aligarh. Now the two groups the loyalists and those having anti-British ideology had emerged. By that time the loyalists strength was in keeping a section of the community under their influence assuring the establishment of a Muslim University with the approval of the government. The loyalists in Aligarh were in great embarrassment when the India Office refused to approve the government of India's recommendation to the elevation of MAO College to the status of a university on the terms proposed by the Muslims in 1912.³⁰

The nationalists of Aligarh taking advantage of the situation held a series of secret meetings of students exposing the role of British government in India and fanned their sentiments by citing the fate of

Islam in Morocco, Persia and Turkey. Political agitation in Aligarh thus reached on peak, causing great concern to the British high officials.³¹

Sir Valentine Chirol remarked that a new generation of young Mohammadans had nevertheless been growing up who knew not Syed Ahmad and regarded his teachings as obsolete.³² Ali brothers backed by Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal organized *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* in 1913 to raise funds to protect religious places of Muslims and to provide whatever assistance they could to Turkey.³³ Most of the Aligarh Muslims openly advocated pursuance of a policy of joint struggle against the British by joining hands with the Congress. Now there was clear shift among the youths of Aligarh and sure departure from Sir Syed's policy.

The manifestation of this attitude was first seen in the seizure of the office of Muslim League at Lucknow in 1912 by the nationalist youths from the loyalists. Among its prominent leaders were Wazir Hasan, T.A.K. Sherwani, Ali brothers, Hasrat Mohani, Zafar Ali Khan, Aziz Mirza, Musa Khan, Allama Shibli etc.³⁴

The nationalists at Aligarh propagated their ideology very effectively. They opposed the Muslims who were still loyal to the British. They impressed considerably the leadership of the Indian National Congress. By the writings, speeches and regular campaigns of the nationalists of MAO College, a number of students were converted to radicalism and they became very critical of British government and entertained the anti-British feelings. The Turkish problems further strengthened the anti-British feelings among the MAO College students.

Khilafat & Non-Cooperation Movement in Aligarh

The World War I came to an end on 11th November 1918. Turkey had been defeated badly by the Allied powers and the Sultan (Khalifa) became a puppet in their hands. It caused much resentment all over the Muslim world. In India, the Muslims supported by Congress, became very critical to the British government. The Indian Muslims wanted an assurance to the safeguard of the Holy places of Islam in Mesopotamia and Arabia against Christian Allied powers.³⁵ The Ulema also supported the Muslim political leaders and assured them to fight for the Khilafat.³⁶

According to Maulana Mohammad Ali, Khilafat was the most important institution for the entire Muslim world which was almost unanimously approved by the Ulema.³⁷

In December 1918, annual meeting of the Muslim League was held and Khilafat was the main issue for debate. Dr. M.A. Ansari said

that holy places should be left intact. Among the other speakers, were Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, Mohammad Shoaib, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal and Maulana Azad Subhani.³⁸ On 17th October 1919, on Friday the first Khilafat day was observed. Gandhiji was also invited by the Khilafat leaders. He appealed to the Hindus to cooperate with the Muslim brethren at this hour of their grave concern.³⁹

Gandhiji approved the idea given by the Khilafat leaders not to participate in the forthcoming peace celebration. On 16th November 1919, Gandhiji presided over a meeting of 10,000 persons held at Delhi. In this meeting an Anti-Peace Celebration Propaganda Committee was formed.⁴⁰ On 23rd November 1919 an All India Khilafat Conference was held. It was organised by Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M.A. Ansari and presided over by Gandhiji in which it was officially declared not to participate in the peace celebration and if Khilafat question was not settled then it would be the duty of all the Muslims to withdraw cooperation from the British government.⁴¹ Between November 1919 and May 1920, the Indian Muslims held a series of meetings under the Khilafat Committee. The Aligarh nationalists group took leading part in all the meetings.⁴² Peace terms of the treaty of the Sevres was announced on 16th May 1920. Gandhiji's reaction to the treaty of Sevres was spontaneous, sharp and quite clear "a staggering blow to the Indian Musalmans and....non-cooperation is the only effective remedy."⁴³

The treaty of Sevres made Turkey to renounce all rights in her former African possessions as well as Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia.⁴⁴

Nothing remained with Turkey except Constantinople and mountainous Anatolia. Meanwhile the 'Young Turks' led by Mustafa Kamal established their government at Ankara. They did not accept the treaty of Sevres and started attack on Allied occupations. They attacked Gallipoli peninsula, Cilicia and the French occupation and won series of victories against France, Italy and Britain. The Young Turks set up a new government under the name of Grand National Assembly.⁴⁵

Thus within Turkey a new political awakening forged a unity. The Sultan of Turkey lost much of his hold. His position as Khalifa of the Musalmans was also under the serious threat. While in Turkey new era had dawned, in India the Indian Muslims by and large stuck to their stand to protect the Khalifa and the Caliphate. In the meeting of Central Khilafat Committee at Allahabad in June 1920, Gandhiji put forward the Non-Cooperation in regard to honorary office, titles and civil employment under the government.⁴⁶

The proposal was opposed by the loyalist group of Aligarh led by Syed Raza Ali.⁴⁷ But the voice of the Aligarh loyalists was too weak against the dominant nationalist group led by Maulana Shaukat Ali and supported by Maulana Abdul Bari. The Aligarh nationalists prevailed and in the next meeting of the Khilafat Committee a resolution of non-cooperation and boycott including the renunciation of titles, was passed.⁴⁸ It was also decided to establish contact with Ulema of Darul Uloom of Deoband, Farangi Mahal and Nadwatul Ulema of Lucknow.⁴⁹

Indian Muslims were thus quite divided on Khilafat issue. This division was not confined to India. In England, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was making rigorous efforts to mobilize favourable opinion of the protection of Khilafat and Turkey.⁵⁰ Due to division of opinion on Turkish issue Aligarh was very much affected. A large number of students took interest in Khilafat Movement and supported Ali brothers and Hasrat Mohani. At this juncture Mohammad Ali's criticism to the loyalists of Aligarh like Shaikh Abdullah and Dr. Ziauddin, can be understood. Here it may be pointed out that the nationalists in Aligarh were under constant attack by the loyalists. Shaikh Abdullah and Shaukat Ali during this period developed serious differences of opinion. Especially Shaikh Abdullah and like minded persons strongly objected to the Shaukat Ali's criticism of Sir Syed. Shaikh Abdullah alleged that the Ali brothers were pleading to send the donations raised for the Muslim University fund, to Turkey. Mohammad Ali strongly argued that the Khilafat was at stake and what would be the use of university in such a situation. But the M.A.O. College authorities could not trust Ali brothers believing that if the money was handed over to the Ali brothers, they would squander it.⁵¹ Shaikh Abdullah further alleged that in the Lucknow meeting another appeal was made in the name of the Khalifa whose existence was under threat putting forward the argument that with the disappearance of Khilafat the name of Islam would be erased. To counter the agitation for the Khilafat Movement the loyalists began to circulate pamphlets among the Muslims. One of the pamphlets carried Sir Syed's opposition to the institution of Khilafat. Despite the loyalist's determined efforts to counter the Khilafat propaganda in 1920, Ali brothers came to Aligarh for mobilizing students to join the movement. From Aligarh they moved to London with a view to convince the government and the public for the Khilafat cause.⁵² Mohammad Ali headed the deputation and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and Mr. Syed Husain were members of the deputation.⁵³ The deputation returned to India without any success. The Khilafat committees in the meantime had been very active in mobilizing general support in India for the Khilafat cause.

On 1st August ,on the occasion of Khilafat Day a call for strike was given.Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued a *Fatwa* declaring that according to *Shariat* the Muslims of India had no choice but to migrate from India.⁵⁴ Soon a large number of Ulema issued similar *Fatwas* supporting the Khilafat Movement.⁵⁵

Maulana Azad's *Fatwa* and Ali brothers arguments of *Hijrat* evoked a mixed reaction among the Ulema. Maulana Abdul Bari, an active supporter of the Khilafat, showed his disagreement over the issue of *Hijrat*.⁵⁶ Deoband School maintained neutrality over the issue of *Hijrat*. Ironically Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi of Deoband School was against the venture.⁵⁷ Maulvi Ahmad Raza Khan Barelvi, during this period, with a large follower of Sunni Muslims had been generally supporting the government policy and declined to support the Khilafat as well as *Fatwa* of *Hijrat*.⁵⁸

Despite the divided opinion of Ulema on the *Hijrat*, a large number of Muslims from Punjab ,Baluchistan and some from U.P. and Bihar migrated to Afghanistan as they expected a fair deal from the Amir of Kabul. They were dis-illusioned when the Amir refused their entry. Consequently the Mujahidin suffered a set back .Many women and children died in harness.⁵⁹

While thousands of Muslim were migrating from India, the M.A.O. College was reeling under serious conflicting opinions. The government was bargaining with loyalists in Aligarh by promises of raising the status of M.A.O. College to a university.⁶⁰ The Aligarh trustees thus were showing great interest in the establishment of a Muslim University rather than in the Khilafat to the great chagrin of Mualana Shaukat Ali and the like minded old boys of the M.A.O. College. Shaukat Ali delivered an emotional speech chastising the trustees: "O Muslims! remember this that one who has no love for Khalifa has no love for Islam..... I repeat *Kalima-e-Tauhid* and declare that in the service of Islam and in the service of Khalifa, I offer to sacrifice my life."⁶¹

Shaukat Ali's pleadings and chastisings to the Aligarh loyalists bore no fruits. The loyalists thought that the Khilafat propaganda was a nonsense. They stuck to Sir Syed's concept and believed that the Khalifa of Turkey was no way their religious head. In the early days of the September 1920, a special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta and inspite of many oppositions the resolution of Non-Cooperation and Boycott was passed. More stress was given in boycotting the councils, government courts and the educational institutions aided or supported by government. The Khilafat Committee, Muslim League and Jamiatul Ulema followed the same line. At Nagpur (December 1920) the programme of Non-Cooperation was adopted enthusiastically in the annual session of the Indian National

Congress. Even C.R. Das and Lala Lajpat Raj who had opposed the programme in Calcutta session endorsed the programme.⁶²

The anti-British feelings were considerably generated by the Ali brothers and Hasrat Mohani at Aligarh. A large number of students joined the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement much to the displeasure of the trustees of the M.A.O. College. Trustees did not wish to drag the college into the vortex of politics. They were keeping themselves away from the changed conditions and continued to stick to the object and loyalty to the Raj on an obvious endeavour to improve the position of the middle class Muslims. The general Muslim population was still economically and educationally backward. No concerted efforts seems to have been made to wage a crusade against backwardness, poverty and ignorance of the community. The M.A.O. College trustees and other loyalists were unfortunately thrown to narrow politics of opposing the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement. Credit must be given to those nationalist Muslims at Aligarh who continued their journey on the road of nationalism with determination and resolution without caring acrimonies from the opponents.

Ali brothers and the like minded students in Aligarh had created an atmosphere surcharged with the nationalist activities. The loyalist were perplexed over such developments. To add to their discomfiture, the Ali brothers succeeded in persuading Gandhiji (Calcutta 4th September, 1920) to visit Aligarh. Accompanied with Swami Satyadeva, Maulana Azad Subhani, Jan Mohammad and others, Gandhiji reached Aligarh on 11th October 1920.⁶³ Gandhiji's presence in Aligarh generated great pressure on the loyalists. Shaikh Abdullah states the situation and concern of the loyalists in these words "This caravan reached Aligarh. Gandhiji stayed at the house of Amir Mustafa Khan and Ali brothers stayed at the Old Boy's lodge with their friends. I asked Dr. Ziauddin Sahib the Principal (MAO College) that Ali brothers, Gandhiji and others should not be allowed to enter the college campus because they are coming with the intention to distract our arrangements. But here Dr. Sahib (Ziauddin) showed weakness. He said, if we do so, the students who are with us would rise against us."⁶⁴ It will be noted that Shaikh Abdullah, a loyalist admit that the students on the Non-Cooperation issue were divided in the college campus and majority of them seems to be supporting the nationalist group in joining the Non-Cooperation movement. Shaikh Abdullah sincerely felt that students joining the Gandhian way would ruin the college and in turn harm the community.⁶⁵ His great concern seems to have made him to refer Dr. Ziauddin's meetings with Gandhiji where the former told the latter "If the students are misled and persuaded to

greatly. Gandhiji replied, "when there would be our government we would build a great college. At present we wish to get the college buildings and boarding houses vacated and establish Congress office and lodge Congress volunteers there in."⁶⁶

The whole statement of Shaikh Abdulah does not seem to be correct. Dr. Ziauddin learnt of Ali brothers and Gandhiji's programme at Lucknow only on 10th October. He dashed to Aligarh. His position was quite delicate. As a Principal of M.A.O. College he had been under the continuous pressure of the trustees. He however met Gandhiji on the evening of 11th October and reminded him of his promise made in Delhi in March 1920 that he would issue a manifesto to the students not to participate in active politics. Dr. Ziauddin wished to know from Gandhiji the cause for this changed stand. Gandhiji replied that the Hunter Commission Report and the terms of the treaty for peace with Turkey had greatly influenced his opinion. Dr Ziauddin then objected to Gandhiji's direct appeal to the students without the consent of the trustees, teachers and the Principal. Gandhiji said that from educational point of view he would not support his attitude but for higher political reasons he would reject such educational principles.⁶⁷ The author of *Zia-i-Hayat* admits that Gandhiji knew that the trustees were not to take any risk for the stoppage of the government grants and the teachers were in general not prepared to take risk for their jobs, hence Gandhiji's appeal was with the students.⁶⁸ It will be noted that Dr. Ziauddin does not refer to Gandhiji's saying of construction of a greater college after the establishment of his government as stated by Shaikh Abdullah in his book *Mushahidat-o-Taassurat*. Moreover such statements are alien to Gandhiji's style of politics.

Despite opposition to the loyalists, the nationalists led by Maulana Mohammad Ali organised meeting in the afternoon of the 12th October 1920. The nationalist students of the M.A.O. College gave memorable reception to Gandhiji. Gandhiji was given the honorary membership of the Union Club.⁶⁹ On this occasion, Maulana Mohammad Ali delivered an impressive speech. He asserted that Muslims are keen to save Islam, liberate it from the danger and release the Khalifa from slavery, they should join the Hindus and first secure freedom of the country. Regarding *Jihad* he agreed with Gandhiji's view that the Indian Muslims did not possess the strength. Mohmmad Ali however, agreed that Hijrat was permissible. He emphasised that the students of the M.A.O. College should sever all connection with the British.⁷⁰ Addressing the same meeting, Gandhiji strongly supported Mohammad Ali and exposed the real nature of the British rule and its

policy of dividing the Muslims and Hindus on communal lines. He spoke “....The heart of the Muslim brethren have therefore been deeply pained. The next thing is that the actions of the government in the Punjab after passing of the Rowlatt Act have convinced both Hindus and Muslims that it is impossible to get justice from this government....they made us Hindus and Muslims quarrel among ourselves. They used to speak very ill of Hindus before Muslims and Muslims before Hindus....If Islam is in danger today , Hinduism is also in danger, for if its is Islam's turn today,it will be ours tomorrow....both(Hindus and Muslims) have decided that by fighting with the sword they would loose their money, their precious time and they would be enslaved still more as they do not possess guns and ammunitions in such quantities. We have received no such training from the government....we are taught the lessons of slavery in the Aligarh College. We should boycott this slavish education. This is my first lesson....when thirty crore of men combine and organise with a view not to have government in their midst, it would be impossible for government to remain in India..... we should boycott government educational institutions. It is shame for us that we have not as yet left them as the Non-Cooperation Movement has been in existence for some months. We should give up practicing as their lawyers. We will become mendicant. We will beg. We will subsist on rice and pulse. We will accept bare bread, but will take our liberty also with it. It is then alone we can be counted among the human beings. No one who is not free can engage himself in devotion to God..... we do not want their titles. We regard their titles as badges of slavery and want to return them. We do not want to send a single soldier or labourer in their army. It is our right and no one can use force towards us in this respect.....we are not going to enter their Legislative Council....non-cooperation is nothing more than sacrifice.....Indian has to pay seven crore of rupees for cloth and therefore Swadeshi Movement has also been included in this. Non-cooperation with one means cooperation with others. Unless we have mutual regard for each other we cannot become united or organised.”⁷¹

Swami Satya Deo strengthened Gandhiji;s stand on the non-cooperation. He said that if they had faith in God they should keep before their minds's eyes to the atrocities committed in the Punjab and oppression practiced on the Mohammadans. He further said that the doctrine of non-cooperation was like stream of nector flowing in India and asked them to drink it.Then no one has the power to kill. They should think that they were going to repudiate the kingdom of *Satan* and establish the kingdom of God in the country and in the world.⁷² The speeches stirred the students and teachers.⁷³

students. According to the intelligence report on 12th October 1920, Ali brothers aroused the sentiments of the students and the whole situation was changed.⁷⁴

Zakir Husain was the first and foremost who renounced the scholarship and demanded for an independent college.⁷⁵ Ali brothers promised for the independent college and also promised to raise a sum of ruppes one crore for the college.⁷⁶ Seven hundred students decided to leave the M.A.O. College and joined the movement.⁷⁷ Politics of the M.A.O. College changed adversely for the loyalists.

The nationalist trustees led by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mohammad Ismail Khan, H.M Moosa Khan and Amir Mustafa sent a requisition to Honorary Secretary, M.A.O. College "In view of the open hostilities shown by Britain to Islam in Turkey,..... we therefore call upon you and other trustees of the college and members of the Muslim University Association to refuse hence forward to receive any aid from the government or to permit any kind of government interference, whether directly or indirectly through Allahabad University of any other agency in these institution and we desire to inform all our other colleagues that we are also calling upon the teachers and adult students at Aligarh to withdraw themselves and other students to withdraw their wards from this college and school on 29th October 1920 in the event of trustee's refusal to comply with these obvious requirements of the Islamic faith. We therefore request you with the earnestness at our command to take the action we recommend at earliest possible date and to treat this matter as for the greatest possible urgency."⁷⁸

The students also passed a similar resolution on 13th October 1920:⁷⁹

1. The meeting of the students of the Aligarh College strongly condemns the attitude by British government towards Turkey.

2. Approves the suggestion by the Khilafat Committee.

3. Strongly urges the trustees to stop receiving aid and disaffiliate the college from the government university.

4. If the trustees do not agree to this by 29th October students will employ means of their power to turn the college into a national organization under the Khilafat Committee to train young men in Khilafat work and refuse any connection with the government chartered university.

5. Requests all title holders among the staff to renounce titles and resign honorary government posts and call upon the government scholarship holders to refuse to accept the scholarship.

The new uprising in the M.A.O. College turned the table against the loyalists. College Secretary Syed Mohammad Ali was out of Aligarh

at that time and Principal Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was left alone to tackle the situation.⁸⁰ The college trustees were undoubtedly divided. A group with a considerable students support had played an aimprtant role into the national politics. The other group of the trustees still held its support for the British government. The students and teachers in majority were now for the Non-Cooperation Movement. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Principal of the M.A.O. College had no alternative but to close the college and break the solidarity of the college students on the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat issue. Closure of the college was followed by letters and telegrams to the parents of the students ".....I appeal to you again that in the light of these circumstances you would consider the situation as esxtremely grave and come up to Aligarh to take charge of your sons and relatives, as I feel that I can not alone bear the burden of whole responsibility."⁸¹

The syndicate of the M.A.O College dominated by loyalists prohibited delivering lectures and addressing students without wiritten permission of the Principal.⁸²

The Honorary Secretary Syed Mohammad Ali came and shared the problems with the Principal.⁸³ To some extent the syndicate and the Secretary strengthened the position of the Principal. Response to the Principal's letters and telegrams issued to the parents of the college students seems to have greatly served the purpose .

About 60 or 70 paretns and guardians came at Aligarh and took their wards back home. Initially the college authorities recevied about 200 telegrams and letters from the parents, disapproving the politics of Ali brothers and Gandhiji in the college.⁸⁴ The college authorities imposed a ban on the entry of Ali brothers and political activities in the campus. It seems that a very organized effort was made to break the solidarity of the nationalists ignoring the ban kept on meeting studetns. It seems that a very organized effort was made to break the solidarity of the nationalist students. *The Pioneer* reproted that the Bhopal State withdrew all Bhopal students. About 200 telegrams and letters have been received from old boys and friends from Gorakhpur, Mirzapur, Bhera, Loyalpur, Muzaffarnagar and other places expressing strong disapproval of the incident.⁸⁵

Many parents stayed in Aligarh. On 21st October, they passed a resolution in support of the college administration ugring the trustees to take effective measures to stop entry of outsiders to the campus with the object of inciting them to politics.⁸⁶

On 23rd October 1920, Mohammad Ali, Hakim Ajaml Khan, Dr. M.A. Ansari.,Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Azad Subhani, Maulvi Abdul Majid of Meerut and Abdul Ghaffar reached Aligarh from Delhi. They were accorded warm reception by the students despite the ban they

held discussions with the College Khilafat Committee.⁸⁷

After the Maghrib (evening) prayers they declared to lay the foundation of a national university. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as Head of the Religious Instructions of the new institution. A list of the college staff was also announced. Initially the name of the new institution was suggested "National Muslim University" to be established on 29th October, 1920. About half of the M.A.O. College students decided to join the National Muslim University where both the collegiate and High School instructions were to be imparted.⁸⁸

Establishment of the National Muslim University Aligarh evoked the interest in Punjab. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, (Amritsar) and Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, (Lahore) promised every help to the students. Many other students, like Zafar Husain, Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf were in the forefront on this occasion.⁸⁹ The government to weaken the growing nationalist trends began to lure the talented and promising young students of better employment opportunity.⁹⁰ Zakir Husain was thus offered deputy collectorship through Dr. Ziauddin, the Principal of MAO College. Zakir Husain rejecting the offer, stood firm for the National Muslim University and nationalism.⁹¹ Taking cause from the stand of their seniors many young students courageously wrote to the Principal M.A.O. College expressing that they were prepared to study (in the M.A.O. College) provided it adopted the creed of nationalism in place of loyalism. Failing they expressed the willingness to face 'the doom' awaiting their non-cooperator brothers.⁹²

Some of the students though under double pressure from parents and the college management were bold enough to raise the voice of their conscience defying authorities. Here a letter from one such student to the Principal, M.A.O. College is revealing, Mushirul Hasan quotes :

"My father has forced me to join your college once again, and I have reluctantly bowed to the parental authority. It is a mighty fall indeed, the whole enthusiasm ends in the air but you cannot realize under what great mental torture I am labouring today."⁹³

Contrary to this there were instances when the guardian themselves advised their wards to join the National Muslim University, abandoning the loyalists of the M.A.O. College. The intelligence report submitted to the government during the period indicates great concern for the rise of nationalist forces in M.A.O. College campus.⁹⁴ In one of its report, the intelligence deptt. expressed satisfaction that the non-cooperators were not much successful in the city though had exaggerated purposely.⁹⁵ It further said that here was also no instance of great excitement and the masses were unaffected. In the city only one constable resigned his pension and a vakil Abdur Rahim announced

his intention of retiring from practice. But the intelligence official was alarmed with the situation in the M.A.O. College as Mohammad Ali had got the signature of 200 students who promised him their full support to the Non-Cooperation.⁹⁶ These 200 students (out of 900) were the firm and dedicated and kept on supporting the nationalists despite all pressure from the college trustees and the Principal.⁹⁷

The situation in the M.A.O. College definitely went out of control of the management. On 27th October the trustees were called to hold a meeting at Aligarh to deal with the situation created by Gandhiji and Ali brothers in the campus. This meeting was held in the house of Nawab Muhammad Muzammilullah Khan. Sixty two trustees from all parts of the country took part in the celebrations. There seems to have been hectic debates. The trustees who favoured joining the main stream of the national movement however seem to have been defeated after a more than eight hours meeting.⁹⁸

The trustees voted in favour of Non-Cooperation were Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, M.A. Ansari, Moazzam Ali, Zahoor Ahmad, Mohammad Ali, Amir Mustafa Khan, Haji Moosa Khan, A.M. Khwaja, Agha Safdar of Sialkot, Ismail Khan, Syed Nasir Husain, T.A.K. Sherwani, Syed Mohammad Khan, and Quasim Husain of Hyderabad state services.⁹⁹ Forty eight trustees voted against the Non-Cooperation. Three resolutions were passed in the meeting. The first resolution rejected the proposal to give up the government grant and to disaffiliate the college. The second resolution emphatically disapproved the action of Shaukat Ali and others in obtaining direct access to the students in defiance of the Principal. The third resolution confirmed the syndicate, Principal and the staff and expressed disapproval of the Non-Cooperation.¹⁰⁰ The college which had already been closed by the Principal was further extended to 30th November by the trustees.¹⁰¹ Even after being defeated on the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation issue by the board of trustees, Ali brothers did not give way. They decided not to leave the college. They also resolved to lay the foundation of a national university at Aligarh on 29th October, 1920 to support the nation's call for boycotting educational institution run and aided by the British government.¹⁰²

M.A.O. College loyalist group dominating the syndicate with full government support was determined to take a firm action against Ali brothers. The Honorary Secretary with full support of syndicate issued notice to Mohammad Ali asking him to vacate the college premises immediately. He also asked him to withdraw students and supporters and abstain from holding any meeting within college boundaries.¹⁰³ The Secretary's notice was taken a challenge by Mohammad Ali. A number of old boys also requested him to withdraw peacefully.

Mohammad Ali, in the meantime had entrenched himself by taking possession of one wing of the boarding house and refused to yield.¹⁰⁴

In the evening of the 28th October, a massive meeting was held on the steps of Aligarh city Jama Masjid about 5000 people were present. Mohammad Ali condemned the actions of the trustees and their supporters. Mohammad Ali intelligently used his talents and dexterity to win people's sympathies and support. The Khilafat issue had already made a large number of Muslims against the government. Exploring the Khilafat sentiments he told the people that they had come with a message of religion which was met with vote of censure by the trustees.¹⁰⁵ Emotion ran high and there were loud cries 'kill Ziauddin' the Principal M.A.O. College.¹⁰⁶ In order to lay the foundation of the national university, Mohammad Ali issued invitations to attend the inaugural ceremony to the national university on 29th October, 1920.¹⁰⁷

Now an open confrontation with the M.A.O. College authorities and the nationalists led by Mohammad Ali was inevitable. Though closure of the college had been officially announced, a number of nationalist students still held ground in the hostel. Till then the students of M.A.O. School had not joined the nationalist students of the college. In order to force all the college and school students, Dr. Ziauddin, the Principal ordered the cutting of electric and water supplies, stoppage of food, forbidding the sweepers from scavenging. He also ordered the locking of hostel rooms. The school students were forced to return home without leave, arbitrarily.¹⁰⁸

The idea of Non-Cooperation became popular. Gandhiji appealed to the parents of Aligarh students to understand the value of the programme and let them allow freedom to their boys from parental bounds. He also advised them to admit their boys in the national institutions set up by the religious and charitable Hindu and Muslim funds.¹⁰⁹

Apart from the known nationalist leaders, there were many student leaders who were on the forefront of the Non-Cooperation Movement in Aligarh. One of them was Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf, a student of B.A., abandoning his education at M.A.O. College, he joined the National Muslim University. Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf was one of the brilliant students of the M.A.O. College. He was opposed to the policy of loyalism and a great preacher of nationalism. He commanded great influence among the students including the Hindus. During the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement in Aligarh, he seized an opportunity to mobilize opinion. On the occasion of the *Milad-un-Nabi*, he addressed a 2000 strong audience comprising of both Hindus and Muslims at the Aligarh city Jama Masjid.¹¹⁰

In view of the importance of the speech, portion of it is being reproduced here : "The time has now come that the nation which wants you to sit here in peace and tranquility may kill you one day with their tyrant hands like thousands of Muslims and other souls massacred by them.....I want to assure you that if you give a slap to the meanest or kick an ordinary ticket collector, then you lose all estimation in the eyes of the English but revered *Shaikhul-Islam* is sent to the Malta in chainsIt is not necessary to *Jihad* with those accursed (*Mardoos*) who tried to occupy *Haram-e-Kaaba* and those malign who have occupied Najaf, Baghadad and *Baitul Muqaddas* (Jerusalem) and committed massacre there. God says, " if anyone kills you and you are innocent, you must take revenge". This is the demand that must be ready for *Jihad* now. We must today be ready and massacre those *Haramzadas* who are oppressing usyou help that *Haramzadi* government.....so that your Khalifa may be destroyed.....Now is the time when not only your rule, your honour but even your faith is at stake.....your own object is to cause the English to suffer so that their feelings be burnt. By the grace of God the British Empire has become such a destructive that you can have a good opportunity to give them a blow....if you have a sense to unite together you can 'destruct' them very soon.....Now when not your nation alone but even your religion and Khilafat are at stake, you have no sense of feelings in you.....in short the nation which bombarded the Barrusa Mosque, that *Mardoos* nation which massacred 15000 Turks in Adrianople, is the same nation which has outraged modesty of wives and women,which had made over our sisters to the Negros. In short if you cannot bring your revenging power into passion, it is matter of regret. Brethren what passion? You must be ready for *Jihad* just at this very moment."¹¹¹

The Khilafat leaders made every effort to arouse religious zeal of the Muslims in favour of Khalifa. In the meantime Mustafa Kamal set up a nationalist government in Ankara. He compelled the Italian troops to quit southern Anatolia and expelled the French troops from Cilicia. He overthrew the recently established Armenian Republic. He also expelled not only the Greek soldiers but every Greek inhabitant from Asia Minor.¹¹²

Mustafa Kamal's victory gave a strong moral support to the Khilafat leaders in India. All India Khilafat Conference of Karachi in 1921 congratulated Mustafa Kamal and his national government for glorious victories. On the occasion, seven leading Khilafat leaders viz .Ali brothers, Maulana Husain, Maulvi Nisar Ahmad and Bharti Krishna Tirathji alias Venkataraman delivered speeches asking the Muslims not to join the British army. The government took a serious note on it

and criminal proceedings instituted against them.¹¹³

Influence of Congress and Muslim League in AMU

When the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements were going on in Aligarh, a section of the Muslim intelligentsia remained loyal to the British government in order to get the charter of the Aligarh Muslim University. Soon they got the reward and in December 1920 the MAO College was elevated to the status of Aligarh Muslim University. But as the Jamia Millia Islamia also had been established in Aligarh in the same year, the activities of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation did not stop and gained momentum day by day. Most of the non-cooperators who were admitted in Jamia Millia had friends in AMU and had a fair chance to convince the students of the AMU. Although the authorities of the AMU were not in favour of any political movement in Aligarh. But the students driven by their youth hot blood and national feelings had secretly engaged in political activities through the national movement which continued till the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement and end of the Caliphate or that of the Khilafat Movement. The newspaper "Englishman" of 17th July 1924 (Published in London), remarked about the meeting of the AMU Association at the Savoy Hotel. In that meeting Lord Meston made a confession that effort to induce Indian (AMU) undergraduates not to engage themselves in politics were hopeless.¹¹⁴

The first Vice-Chancellor of the AMU was Ali Mohammad Khan Maharaja of Mahmoodabad. He although a loyalist also had nationalist feelings and was staunch supporter of Hindu Muslim unity.¹¹⁵

He was a man of Congress mentality and a good friend of Motilal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu and Miss Annie Besant. He also attended the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress presided over by Motilal Nehru.¹¹⁶ It was very much natural that during his Vice-Chancellorship the students must have been affected by nationalist activities and Congress policies.

The second Vice-Chancellor of AMU Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was undoubtedly a loyalist in order to secure the help of British government for AMU and Muslim community but he had Congress ideology and character. He was against the political and educational ideas of the other loyalists and had sympathy with the Congress policies.¹¹⁷ He admitted the nationalist minded Muslim students in AMU who had taken active part in Non-Cooperation Movement. On account of the fact that after the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement the students once again started devoting their time and energy to their studies. As the degrees of Jamia had no recognition from government, the students gave preference to AMU and coming

from a nationalist background they created a national atmosphere at the AMU.¹¹⁸ His loyalty and affection to the Congress is evident by the fact that against the wishes of the government officials and other loyalists he performed the duties of Vice -Chancellorship by wearing Khadi Sherwani.¹¹⁹

Not only the Congress but the Congress backed political party named Swaraj Party had also a firm footing in AMU. Many leaders of this party visited Aligarh, they took part in the debates and discussions conducted by AMU Students Union from time to time. On 15th March 1925 two distinguished public men Mr. Chaman Lal and Mr.T.C. Goswami (MLA) took part in the debate on the topic “The scheme of Swaraj Party will hasten the advent of Swaraj in India.”¹²⁰

After the failure to the Swaraj Party, the Congress once again succeeded in acquiring the support of the students of the AMU. In 1927-28 the AMU Students Union declared that “.....the Aligarh union heralded that Non-Cooperation Movement for good or for worse. The students have led the most astounding agitations in the late MAO College days and they cannot even today be blamed for their community and the country. The students have led most custodians of their own rights in our university and they should be such even today. Aligarh has ever been proud of the achievement of its boys both present and past.”¹²¹

The Congress leaders deliberately visited the university (AMU Union Club) and accepted membership of the students union. In 1928-29 leaders including Mrs. Annie Besant and Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan visited Aligarh. Mrs. Annie Besant was made life member of the union.¹²² Next year in 1929-30 Mr. M.K Jayakar and Mahatma Gandhi visited Aligarh and delivered memorable speeches before the students. Mahatma Gandhi became the life member of AMU Students union.¹²³ In the Year 1931-32 the members of the union had the privilege of being addressed by the distinguished nationalists like Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Azad Subhani and Mr. T.A.K Sherwani.¹²⁴

While Sir Ross Masood became the Vice Chancellor of the AMU, the students of Congress mentality had the great fortune of having the chance to meet and listen to the likes of Jawahar Lal Nehru, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.¹²⁵

In the beginning of 1937 Sarojini Naidu was invited to AMU. While welcoming her, the Vice-President of the university union said that Aligarh was welcoming the first lady of the land. He also said that she was made an honorary life member of the union 20 years ago when many of us were not even born. Mrs. Naidu, addressing the students said that Indian National Congress under the leadership of her great friend and leader Jawahar Lal was struggling for India’s

freedom and that she herself was carrying the torch of Indian freedom from one part of India to another. She stressed ".....some twenty years ago I came here to hand over the torch of freedom but none cared to take it, they want that I should address the sons and daughters of free India and tell them the stories of heroic deeds of those who inhabits in halls and hostels of Aligarh today."¹²⁶ She appealed to the students to cultivate an international outlook and make every effort to see India free.¹²⁷

Sir Ross Masood was a dynastic friend of Jawahar Lal Nehru but it was also equally important for him to maintain good relations with the British govt. while being the Vice Chancellor of AMU. When Jawaharlal Nehru visited Aligarh it was a dilemma before Sir Ross Masood as to how tackle the situation. Actually Hayatullah Ansari, a Congress minded nationalist and President of the "*Aftab Majlis*" had invited Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru to come to Aligarh and address the students of the AMU.¹²⁸ Sir Ross Masood went to the railway station to receive him and after a grand welcome he brought Pt. Nehru directly to his residence just like a dynastic friend. From there Pt. Nehru and Ross Masood reached Strechy Hall where Pt. Nehru addressed a large gathering of students and they listened to him with rapt attention.¹²⁹

Outside the university campus, the Aligarh city was visited by the Congress leaders many times and there they made a great number of supporters for their activities. On 29th Jan., 1926 Lala Lajpat Rai visited Aligarh and was given a reception at the railway station. He presided over the Achutudhar Conference in the local Arya Samaj Temple. The municipal board presented an address before him and later in his own speech, he appealed for continued Hindu-Muslim unity. On 26th November 1927, the United Provinces Political Conference was inaugurated in Aligarh by Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant. Kailash Nath Katju hoisted the Congress flag and explained the importance of Congress flag under which all sections of India should unite. By opening the exhibition of Khadi he explained the economic significance of Khadi and Mahatma Gandhi's love for it. Among the presentees were Shiv Prasad Gupta, Sampurnanand, Sita Sahai, Kishan Chand Sharma, T.A.K. Sherwani, Krishna Dutt Paliwal, Deo Narayan, Udai Vir and many others. The conference was attended by nearly 2000 persons.¹³⁰

Besides Indian National Congress, the All India Muslim League had also made inroads into Aligarh but it had no firm footing in AMU or Aligarh city till 1936. Although Mr. Mohd Ali Jinnah frequently visited Aligarh he could not succeed in getting any substantial support. Till that time both Congress and the Muslim League had similar political programmes against the British govt.

Muslim League had not adopted any separatistic or communal approach and Congress had also favoured the Muslims in their demand. That's why Muslim League had no firm footing not only in Aligarh but anywhere in U.P. and Congress was very much popular among the Muslims. In U.P. the Muslim League was mere a small group, led by Nawab Mohammad Ismail and Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman, rather than a political party. The differences between the Congress and Muslim League arose on the issue of the distribution of portfolios of U.P. ministry in 1937.

On 31st March 1925 Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah visited Aligarh and took part in the Aligarh Muslim University Union debate on the motion "the time has come that immediate steps be taken to establish a responsible government in India."¹³¹

Muslim League got the opportunity to express their point of view before the Aligarh students at the time of jubilee celebration of AMU in December 1925. On this great occasion the seventh session of the All India Muslim League was held from 30th Dec 1925 to the beginning of the January 1926. Sir Abdur Rahim was the President. Among those present were Mian Sir Mohd. Shafi, Shaukat Ali, Seth Yaqub Hasan, Dr. Abdur Rahim and Mr. Sorabji Rustamji of the South African delegation. Shaikh Abdullah was the Chairman of the reception committee welcomed the League to Aligarh.¹³²

Mr. Jinnah in inviting Sir Rahim to take chair said that by the cooperation of the assembled people the League would achieve the results which benefit not only the Muslim community but India as a whole. Dr. Abdur Rahim in his Presidential address emphasized the grave conditions of Indian Muslims as a result of communal riots prevailing all over India. He also refuted the allegations made by their Hindu brethren that Indian Muslims had lack of patriotism as they were interested in the fate of their coreligionists abroad. He asserted that some Hindus were actively engaged in conspiracies with foreign societies whose primary object was to cause trouble in India. According to him, such people were a serious challenge to Islam and grave threat to the political status of the Muslims.¹³³

On 20th October, 1926 the AMU Students Union, as part of their social and intellectual activities, organised a jubilee debate in which distinguished visitors including Sir Ali Iman, Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Sir Mian Mohammad Shafi, Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali etc. took part. Several Ulema were also present.¹³⁴ In session of 1929-30, prominent leaders of Muslim League like Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah and Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal visited university and graced the union by addressing it. Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal was made life member of AMU Students Union.¹³⁵

It is a fact that every Muslim League leader who visited Aligarh had no separatistic ideas in his mind but was inspired by nationalist feelings and did his very best to ameliorate the position of the Muslims of India. The AMU became the symbol of advancement for Muslims and the only source of hope for them. Not only the Indian Muslims sympathised with it but their Hindu brethren as has been said earlier had frequently visited Aligarh in order to extend their support to the university and give guidelines to the students. The other countries outside India were also influenced by the pattern of education in AMU and its emancipation work. His Majesty Ghazi Mohammad Nadir Shah the King of Afghanistan announced the donation of Rs. 3600/- annually to the AMU and invited two leading educationalists Sir Ross Masood and Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal to Kabul to advise him on educational matters.¹³⁶

The mixed influence of the Congress and the Muslim League in Aligarh particularly AMU created a unique political atmosphere and made the Aligarh students purely secular in their thought, policy and behaviour. One of its results was that Shaikh Abdullah (Alig) formed the Independent Muslim Party in October 1926 and declared that it will be prepared to cooperate not only the political party the aim of which may be common good of the country but on occasions it will be ready to lend its support to the government and throw its weight against any of the parties whose object will be defeat the higher national aims through its narrow-minded communalism. The Independent Muslim Party had its goal for attainment of self government in India by constitutional means. It also declared that it will not tolerate the introduction of any such measure that may not be in consonance with the special interest of the Muslim community.¹³⁷

The nationalism in Aligarh reached its climax when a group led by Maulana Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglori opposed the separate electorate for the Muslims. It was in sharp contrast with his ideology of the day when he was a member of the Muslim League. In 1936 he joined the Congress and strengthened his relations with Babu Sampurna Nand, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad and Dr. Syed Mahmood.¹³⁸

It can not be ignored that the students had most actively adopted the nationalist flavour of Aligarh politics. It made them more efficient and confident and men of independent thinking. In Aug. 1936 there was a strike in AMU against the injustice meted out to the students. No doubt the immediate cause was something different but the real cause was political awakening of the students and their nationalist feelings. A group led by Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf sided with the students and demanded from the university authorities to call back the rusticated students and not to do any harassment to the students.

who were participants in the strike. But the authorities assured him that the treatment meted out to the strikers was lenient as was consistent with the maintenance of the university discipline. Even the ring leaders stood a very fair chance of making up the required percentage of attendance for the year 1936-37, if they attended their classes regularly after their return to Aligarh on the dates fixed for them. No student who did not participate in the strike had been punished.¹³⁹

The university authorities decided to take a lenient view of conduct for the freshers who were misguided by the senior students but it was felt necessary to call explanations from them and give them due warning through their parents and guardians.¹⁴⁰

The Pro-Vice Chancellor Mr. A.B.A. Haleem explained to the Vice-Chancellor about the strike as "there was students rainy season pastime, locally known as 'mud-riot' in the university in the course of which some students of the V.M. Hall ragged a fresher residing with a warden himself. One of the students was fined Rs. 15/- by the acting Provost, the student whose offence was graver reported to me and on the written recommendation of the Provost, I ordered his rustication. About 60 or 70 students of V.M. Hall came to my house. I told that discussion with a mob was not possible. To the representatives, who remained with me, I explained that my order must be obeyed but if the rusticated student left Aligarh and applied for re-admission his case would be considered. The student left Aligarh and applied after a few days. No other representation was made to me by the students verbally or in writing. While the application of the rusticated student was under my consideration, the students of the V.M. Hall went on strike, all of a sudden of Tuesday last. They refused to eat their meals in the dining hall or to attend their lectures; the gates of the hall were closed and thereafter even the members of the staff were only admitted on sufferance. The acting Provost informed me that he had discussed the matter with the students for several hours but they were not prepared to listen the reasons, their demand being that the rusticated students should be recalled and the warden in charge should be dismissed before they brought the strike to an end. After the strike had continued for two days inspite of all possible efforts of the officers in charge, matter was carefully considered by Academic Council on Thursday, Aug. 13, 1936 and it was decided to remove the name of all students of V.M. Hall who did not return to their normal life by 8.00A.M on Friday from the rolls the university there re-admissions however was permitted on such conditions as may be deemed fit. The students were addressed by you (Vice Chancellor) and myself of Friday. We did our very best to assure them that the authorities had the utmost regard for the present convenience and the

future careers of all the students, but it was not possible for us either to dismiss university officers or to cancel disciplinary orders at the dictate of the strikers."

"I very much regard to say that inspite of all these efforts the students of V.M. Hall decided to spread the strike to other halls. The Academic Council therefore directed the university to be closed for autumn vacation immediately i.e.w.e.f. 15th August, 1936 instead of 13th September, 1936 as had been previously notified. On the evening of Friday, August 15, the students of V.M.Hall rushed into S.S. and Aftab halls closed the gates but they failed to enlist the sympathy for more than a handful of the students in either hall. On Saturday and Sunday the students of these halls left for exception of the few who are preparing for competitive examinations or came from long distances and have been permitted by me to remain in residence during the autumn vacation. The majority of V.M.Hall students also have realised their mistakes and have tendered written and unconditional apology for their behaviour to their Provost Mr. A.M. Qureshy. By Sunday evening all the hostels of V.M. Hall were cleared of their occupants and I am gald to inform you that the strike is quite over...."¹⁴¹

It was not only a strike but a fight between nationalism and loyalism. It was a brilliant example of the national flavour gaining ground in the A.M.U. But from that time for one year, the political activities in Aligarh came to a standstill and resumed only after the election of 1937 and the formation of Congress ministry in U.P. The opposition of Musim League to the Congress ministry again warmed up the political atmosphere in Aligarh

Efforts of Hindu-Muslim Unity and Role of AMU

In order to promote Hindu-Muslim unity and strengthen nationalist feelings in Muslim community Shaikh Abdullah formed Independent Muslim Party. This party did not allow narrow minded communalists to join it. Its aim was to cooperate with any political party, the aim of which may be the common good of the country. This party set before it as its goal, the attainment of self government in India by constitutional means but also supported the special interests of the Muslim community.¹⁴² The Independent Muslim Party attracted many secular minded Muslims. By its campaign of nationalism the loyalist group of Aligarh also started favouring the ideology of Shai'kh Abdullah. His party played an important role in preventing the communal tensions between two communities by propagating the brotherly feelings and nationalism. He expressed the secular and patriotic ideas in many public meetings.

In 1925 when the session of All India Muslim League was held at

Aligarh, Shaikh Abdullah, as Chairman of the reception committee gave a remarkable address regarding the communal problem which has been quoted as follows:

“.....the real cause of the Hindu-Muhammadan estrangement and strife in these days is to be found in the notions of false patriotism of certain leaders..... the notion of swaraj of a single community has unquestionably been sprung from some unhealthy brain and I hope its absurdity will soon be declared by the commonsense of Hindu community itselfthe League has got a very clear duty before it in this behalf and it must do something to stop the further growth of the great mischief to the cause of the motherland.....I assure the critics that the generality of the Musalmans , and particularly their educated classes are as good patriots as the Hindu themselves. Of course the Musalmans of India have got much warmth in their feelings for Musalmans all over the world, based as they are on the conception of Islamic brotherhood; but at the same time they are not ignoring their duty to their motherland.....telling the whole body of my brethren in faith that the love of our motherland is our permanent duty not on national ground only but on religious ground also. No Musalman should ignore that love of the motherland is one of the articles of our faith and it should be cherished as such.”¹⁴³

Many attempts were made to bring to an end the fierce riots which were started after the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement .A fast was undertaken by Gandhiji in Delhi when he was in jail. The people came from different communities to Delhi and Pt. Motilal Nehru presided over the unity conference to consider the whole question of communalism. The leaders of both the communities sincerely attempted to bring about unity between the two communities. Even those leaders who had been most opposed to the spirit of Mahatma were loudest in their demand to release Mahatma Gandhi and started to follow the path of Hindu-Muslim unity.¹⁴⁴

No doubt the single hope of unity and the end of communal riots was Mahatma Gandhi. But this step of Hindu-Muslim unity and national programme of Gandhiji was not appreciated by some fanatic Hindus and Muslims and they criticised him in their own way. The Hindus said “you asked the Hindus to make common with the Musalmans on the Khilafat question. That resulted in unifying and awakening the Musalmans and now that the Khilafat is over and the awakened Musalmans have proclaimed a kind of Jihad (holy war) against us “ The Musalmans said “We simple minded people have been unjustly treated. You by your agitation won over Mohammad Ali to your side and you attacked the famous institution at Aligarh built with patient

care by Sir Syed Ahmad. Your boycott of councils prevented our able men from going to the council to fight against the prejudice of the interests of our community.¹⁴⁵ Maulana Mohammad Ali was blamed by Muslims as a Gandhi worshiper.¹⁴⁶

Most of the Muslim leaders were either the followers of Ganhiji or members of other secular bodies, and staunchly supported Hindu-Muslim unity. Only a handful of Muslims who were engaged in counter movements of Shudhi named Tabligh and Tanzeem opposed the Hindus for their work. The Aligarh Muslim University was also a supporter of the Hindu-Muslim unity much against the wishes of British government. That's why in 1930 Sir Malcolm Haily and Lord Irwin made a diagnosis and told the Aligarh university that the Muslim community had failed to produce the leaders.¹⁴⁷

Aligarh remained peaceful throughout the sensitive years of communal riots except in September 1925, at a time when the Ramlila festival (Dashera festival) was about to be celebrated. This Hindu festival gave rise to acute communal tension in many places of India including Aligarh. Its celebration was marked by one of the worst riots of the year. In Aligarh the riots assumed such dangerous position that the police were compelled to fire to restore order and five persons were killed either by the police or the rioters.¹⁴⁸ Actually the disturbance started following the order of the Aligarh Collector Mr. Darvin not allowing the Ramlila committee to play music before the mosque at all times without the consideration of the time of the Musalman for saying their prayers. The Ramlila committee protested against the restrictions and Musalmans demanded that the old and time honoured traditions should be followed, and the stoppage of music before mosque should be strictly adhered to.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps this was the only instance of disturbances which has wounded the Aligarh history, and it was very strange that Aligarh University was untouched by any type of disturbances and communal riot. This is very much proved by the fact that when the whole India was burning in the communal fire, the Aligarh university organised a debate on the occasion of jubilee celebration in 1925. The topic of the discussion was "Hindu Muslim unity is the urgent need of today." The debate was attended by many Muslim leaders including Mr. Ghulamus Saiyadain, Sir Shafi, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Sir Ali Imam and Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah.¹⁵⁰

National Programmes and AMU Simon Commission

Some days before the general election of 1927, in England, the Conservative government appointed Indian Statutory Commission in

Nov. 1927 popularly known as Simon Commission after the name of its Chariman Sir John Simon. It was an all white commission and did not include any Indian in it. The aim of the commission was to enquire the working of the system of government, development of representative institutions and matters connected with the constitutional problems.

All the Indian political leaders decided to boycott it. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with the help of Dr. M.A. Ansari and Mr.T.A.K Sherwani formed the Muslim Nationalist Party in order to bring the Indian Muslims in the national fold and created a band for the oppositions of Simon Commission and other objectionable activity of the British govt.¹⁵¹ The Muslim League was divided into two groups one was led by Mohd. Ali Jinnah who opposed the commission and the other was led by Shafi Fazl-i-Husain who supported the Simon Commission.¹⁵² Jamiatul Ulema, Khilafat Committee etc. also opposed the commission. Other prominent Muslim leaders who opposed the commission were Sir Ali Imam, Syed Hasan Imam, Maharaja of Mahmoodabad, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali etc.¹⁵³

The action began when Simon Commission landed at Bombay on 3rd Feb.1928, all the major cities and towns observed a complete hartal. Rallies, black flag demonstrations and prosessions were held. Mohd. Ali Jinnah was the first to raise the protest cry "Simon go back" He declared " Jallianwala Bagh was the physical butchery, the Simon Commission is the butchery of the soul."¹⁵⁴ In Lucknow on 28-30th Nov. the reception was given by the talluqdars and Khaliquzzaman floated kites and balloons with 'go back Simon' slogans. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant were beaten up by the police.¹⁵⁵ Raja of Mahmoodabad and his men were also meted out the same as Khaliquzzaman from his kothi, the police also raided the residence of Maharaja.¹⁵⁶ Aligarh was also very much affectd by the storm of this movement. Hartal and demonstratinos were very successful, processions marched all over the city waving black flags and banners carrying ' go back Simon' slogan.¹⁵⁷ Many pominent leaders of Aligarh like Malkhan singh and Hanuman Prasad vakil gave thrilling lectures and motivated public mind against Simon Commission and British government. The visit of Mahatma Gandhi in Aligarh in November 1929 mobilised the people into action for the national cause.¹⁵⁸ T.A.K. Sherwani, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan etc. also left no stone unturned to oppose the Simon Commission.¹⁵⁹ The involvement of the above leaders might have instigated the students of AMU but there is no documentary proof of the active participation of Aligarh Muslim University students in the anti-Simon campaign,

except a few local person's oral statement. They say that a section of the students was always in the university which participated in all anti-government campaigns.

Nehru Report

Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India in the Conservative govt. made a taunt that Indians were quite incapable to formulate concrete scheme of constitutional reforms which had the support of wide sections of Indian political opinions. Liberal politicians like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Muslim leaders headed by Mr. Jinnah joined hands with the Congress to accept the challenge of the British government. Nearly all political parties, except Justice Party in Madras and Punjab Unionist, decided to formulate a new constitution. On 20th March 1927 in Delhi Jinnah persuaded the Muslim leaders in an informal conference regarding new constitution. In this conference it was resolved that the Muslims would accept joint electorate on some conditions.¹⁶⁰

The all party's conference which met in February, May and August 1928 finalised a report of the constitution known as Nehru Report after name of its author Moti Lal Nehru. The report defined dominion status as a form of government desired by India.¹⁶¹

Top ranking Muslim nationalist leaders like Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali opposed the Nehru Report, as its aim was dominion status for India and they demanded complete independence. Mohd. Ali said in the all party convention of Dec. 23, 1928 at Calcutta. "I do not ask for dominion status under British or Hindus or Musalmans or Turkey or Afghansitan. But I want freedom for myself and my country" He further said. "I ask for no constitution except one article namely that India shall be free and independent."¹⁶²

Maulana Shaukat Ali in presiding over U.P. Muslim's all party conferences gave a frustrated statement while reacting the dominion status. "The dominion status resolution as betraying the slavish mentality of the Hindus. Hindus have been habituated to slavery and they would remain slaves. The Musalmans are a freedom loving people and would not submit to either Hindus or British rule."¹⁶³

By the efforts of Abul Kalam Azad who had formed Muslim Nationalist Party with the help of Khaliquzzaman and other nationalist Muslims enlisted their support in favour of Nehru Report.¹⁶⁴

The young and radical nationalists led by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru also favoured Ali brother's protest in support of complete independence and opposed the Nehru Report. They were dissatisfied with the declaration of dominion status and demanded complete independence.¹⁶⁵

The Aligarh opinion was also divided over the Nehru Report, as has already been said that Ali brothers and Khaliquzzaman have their own opinion about Nehru report. A reputed Aligarh nationalist Tufail Ahmad said that due to the political and ideological differences between Hindus and Muslims the Indian nationalists failed to accept the challenge of Lord Birkenhead. His taunt became true and both Hindus and Muslims dishonoured India in the eyes of the world.¹⁶⁶

Civil Disobedience Movement

The Civil Disobedience Movement started by Gandhiji was very strong except for a short break due to the Gandhi-Irawin Pact. All communities and classes of India actively participated. The Muslim political leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Syed Mahmood, T.A.K. Sherwani, Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan etc. became more active. Muslim Nationalist Party, Jamiatul Ulema-i-Hind, Ahraratu1l Islam, Khudai Khidmatgar gave many sacrifices for the movement without caring for the government policy of trying to keep away the Muslims from the movement.¹⁶⁷ The Ali brothers due to their ideological differences with Gandhiji and other Congress leaders slowly and gradually drifted away from the Congress and warned the Congress that it would be disastrous for the Congress to launch a campaign without Muslim cooperation. Even Dr. M.A. Ansari was afraid of the consequences like other Congress minded Muslims but by the efforts of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad most Muslim leaders participated in the movement. In 1930 when Maulana Azad was sent to jail, Dr. Ansari became acting President of the Indian National Congress.¹⁶⁸

In 1930 in Aligarh the Muslims were divided. One group was taking active part in the movement and another group under the influence of government opposed the movement. On 17th June 1930 a large number of Muslims gathered in Jama Masjid of Aligarh in order to oppose the movement and organise an anti-picketing party to counter act the picketing of foreign cloth shops of Musalman by the Congress volunteers. In the meeting many members made vigorous speeches in favour of the role being played by them. They made serious efforts to bring other parties to oppose the movement. Many shop keepers organise an anti-picketing party in order to counter act the Congress volunteers.¹⁶⁹

The dividing opinion of the Muslims regarding Congress policy and movement forced the Muslim Congress leaders of Aligarh to think seriously about it. Mr. Nisar Ahmad Sherwani vakil brother of Mr. T.A.K Sherwani organised the dormant nationalist forces of the Musalmans to cooperate with the Congress. He made a fervent appeal

to the Musalmans of Aligarh to strengthen the hands of Congress and sounded a note of warning to Musalmans against non-cooperation in the fight for freedom.¹⁷⁰ Government made their best efforts to prevent the Muslims as a body from declaring in favour of Civil Disobedience Movement. But it was unfortunate for the government that inspite of all their efforts most of the Muslim population took active part in the movement.¹⁷¹

In the first phase of the movement the Aligarh nationalists including both Hindus and Muslims violated the salt Act. The salt making was started at Koil, Khair and several places of Aligarh distt. before large gatherings. When the news of Gandhiji's arrest reached Aligarh the hartal was observed and Congress flag was taken out in procession and patriotic songs were sung. The boycott of foreign clothes and picketing of liquor (Tari) shops continued unabated at Aligarh.¹⁷² Even temples were being picketed to prevent worshippers wearing foreign clothes from obtaining entrance. Many spinning competitions were also held.¹⁷³

As far as the picketing of foreign cloth shop was concerned the volunteers arrived in batches from the Ashram and lie down before the shops. Nearly all the Hindu shopkeepers sealed their foreign cloth shops but Musalmans refused to do so and appealed to the government for help. The Congress intended to boycott all foreign goods and the people who were dealing in such stores were nervous and in case of the Musalmans the communal feeling became very bitter. They beat up many volunteers and it was very interesting that the volunteers were anxious to be beaten up so as to pose as martyrs.¹⁷⁴

There was also a no rent campaign and the tenants refused to pay rent to the zamindars. The police witness that they had never seen such wild type of speeches as people delivered in Aligarh. They were mainly the boys or irresponsible youngmen (freedom fighters). They had no hesitation in abusing the Kind. The preached the doctrine that to loot public money or to rob government servants was no crime.¹⁷⁵ Navjiwan Bharat Sabha, Aligarh presented an address that embodied the most touching references. The speeches made by Sardar Kishan Singh and Satyapal moved even stone hearted persons among the audience who actually shed tears.¹⁷⁶ In the rural areas of Aligarh the local peasant refused to pay land revenue and several arrests were made. This movement continued unabated till Gandhiji withdrew it in May 1934. During this movement more than 600 persons from Aligarh distt. were sent to jail and fined.¹⁷⁷

During this time of unrest the Aligarh Muslim University remained unaffected and there was no disciplinary difficulty for the administration.¹⁷⁸ During the movement Lord Irwin made a speech at

Aligarh and appreciated the students for their aloofness from the movement. He said "the students of Aligarh remained staunch not because of any lack of high spirit or enthusiasm that is one of the best endowment of the youth. But simply because of their own good sense of loyalty to their alma mater. They showed that discipline in Aligarh is not merely imposed from the above or from without but something intelligently and deliberately accepted by the student body as a necessary condition of healthy life and work in the university."¹⁷⁹

Act of 1935

The Aligarh Muslims were afraid of the Act of 1935 that it would provide more powers to the majority community. On 27th January 1937 while welcoming the Governor of U.P. Sir Harry Haig, the AMU Court members said "....the new constitution....will transfer a large measure of power and responsibility to vote of majority and it is natural for those who are in minority to feel anxious about their future....Nevertheless Muslims on their part are prepared to work the new constitution and cooperate with other communities for the advancement of the country's cause...."¹⁸⁰

The Governor assured that the position of the Muslims had been safeguarded as much as it was possible to safeguard any community in the democratic constitution.¹⁸¹

Election of 1937

All the Muslim leaders either joined Congress or Muslim League to fight in the provincial elections. The Congress decided to fight elections and postponed the decision on office acceptance to the post election period. Congress fought the elections on the national programmes and agrarian issue.¹⁸² The political leaders toured all over India for election campaign. Jawahar Lal Nehru along with other political leaders also arrived in Aligarh and Khair, a tehsil of Aligarh distt.¹⁸³ In his reception the involvement of the government servants was checked by district authorities and necessary action were taken against them.¹⁸⁴

Many Muslim loyalists also fought election. In Aligarh on one side there were the members who were nationalists. They were members from both Congress and Muslim League. On the other side there were loyalists who supported the government. But most of the Muslim opinion and votes went for national candidates.¹⁸⁵

The Congress became victorious in six provinces namely Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Orissa, Bihar and United Provinces. In Bengal, Assam and North West Frontier the Congress was the largest

single party. Muslim League faced very bad defeat in all the provinces except very few seats in Muslim majority provinces.¹⁸⁶

Role of Alumni in National Politics

Most of the Indian Muslim leaders were directly or indirectly connected with Aligarh and were collectively known as Aligarh brotherhood. They were not united on one platform due to political, economic, social and religious problems but divided themselves into almost all political parties in India in order to serve the nation shoulder to shoulder with their co-religionists. There was one section of Muslim leaders also which did not cooperate with any political party for the cause of national movement but cooperated with the British government for the sake of improving the condition of the Muslim community.

Broadly speaking, we can say that the Indian Muslim leaders or Aligarh brotherhood were divided into two groups of the nationalists and the loyalists.

Nationalists

First of all there is a need of discussion about the top-ranking Congress members of the Muslim community associated with the AMU. Dr. Zakir Husain was most prominent among them as he had been very much in limelight from 1920 onwards. Among others were Dr. Syed Mahmood, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Hayatullah Ansari, Mohammad Abdur Rahman (Kerala), T.A.K. Sherwani etc.

Dr. Zakir Husain after finishing his school education from Etawa, admitted in the M.A.O. College and studies up to M.A. He played very active part in Non-Cooperation Movement and in founding Jamia Millia Islamia in 1920 in Aligarh. He went to Berlin for higher studies in 1932 and joined the Jamia Millia Islamia as Vice Chancellor and took the responsibility of preparing Indian Youth particularly Muslims for national struggle. He became the President of the Hindustan Talimi Sangh Sewagram from 1938-48.¹⁸⁷

Another leader of the Indian National Congress Dr. Syed Mahmood, was a born leader of India. He was educated in MAO College Aligarh from 1901-07. During his days as a student in the MAO College, due to his nationalistic ideology, he was popularly known among the students as "nation".¹⁸⁸ He held several spells of imprisonment. He was General Secretary of the Congress in 1923 and again in 1929-36. He was appointed Minister of Education and Industry in the first Congress ministry in Bihar in 1937. He was opposed to the "Quit India" Programme but had to 'give in' on account of

Gandhiji's insistence. Dr. Mahmood was again appointed Minister of Development and Transport in 1946 in the Congress ministry in Bihar.¹⁸⁹

Rafi Ahmad Kidwai a national leader graduated from the MAO College in 1918 but before completing LLB he fell under the spell of Gandhiji and left the college. He was very active in politics from the time of Non-Cooperation programme. He started work as Private Secretary to Motilal Nehru and virtually became a member of the Nehru family. In 1923 he was elected to Central Legislative Assembly on Swaraj Party ticket and resigned in 1930 on the call of the Congress. The most reputed post he held was Secretaryship of reception committee of the Kanpur session of the Indian National Congress in 1925. In the cabinet of U.P. in 1937 he was appointed as Revenue Minister. His virtual enactment of the U.P. Tenancy Act created conditions for the abolition of zamindari system. In U.P. cabinet of 1946 he became Home Minister.¹⁹⁰ Another leader of the national stature in the Congress was Hayatullah Ansari. He graduated from AMU in 1934 and took Gandhiji's ideology and plunged into freedom movement. In 1937 he started bringing out '*Hindustan*' weekly, an organ of the Indian National Congress. It was to be closed in 1942. Hayatullah became the first editor of "*Qaumi Awaz*" which was started in 1945 with the effort of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Rafi Ahmad Kidwai.¹⁹¹

The most prominent Aligarh national leader of the south India was Mohammad Abdur Rahman. He discontinued his studies from Aligarh in 1921 at the call of Mahatma Gandhi and Ali brothers and left for Malabar to carry on the Congress activities. He fought against the "Mopla Outrage Act", the "Inland Emigration Act" etc. When the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee decided to launch salt satyagraha in 1930 and a section of the Muslim community backed by the British government opposed the move. Abdur Rahman along with his friends strongly resisted it and appealed to the Muslim community to join the national movement. His towering personality and oratory inspired the people specially the younger generation and students. Later on in 1939 he became the President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and a member of All India Congress Committee. In 1939 he became the President for Forward Bloc of the Kerala unit after being insured by the ideology of Subhas Chandra Bose. But after 1945 he again became an active member of the Indian National Congress. During the struggle for freedom he was sent to jail several times.¹⁹²

In Aligarh itself the Indian National Congress had a firm footing under the leadership of Tassadduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani. He was educated from MAO College and Cambridge. He was a nationalist from the start and was expelled from the MAO College for his

participation in a strike in 1907 but was allowed to return. He was a firm Congressman and a devoted admirer of Moti Lal Nehru. He joined the Swaraj Party in Jan. 1923. He also took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 and became a member of the Congress Parliamentary Board and worked closely with Jawaharlal Nehru throughout his life.¹⁹³

There were many leaders who played an active role in the national movement were associated with the Muslim League. Among these leaders associated with AMU, Khwaja Nazimuddin was most prominent. Khwaja Nazimuddin after his early education in Decca, admitted in the MAO College where he studied for a few years. He was a leader of Muslim League in Bengal and also a member of working committee of All India Muslim League during the decisive decade of 1937-47. During the Election of 1937 Muslim League was in a very weak position in Bengal and commanded little influence over the Muslim masses in the province. A.K. Fazlul Haq with his Krishak Praja Party, gained much greater support than Muslim League. When the question of forming the ministry came, Fazlul Haq sought the coalition of the Congress but Congress turned down the proposal. It gave an opportunity to Muslim League strengthening its position in Bengal. Fazlul Haq turned to the Muslim League for coalition and for four years the coalition government remained in the office. Nazimuddin became Home Minister in the province. Under the influence of M.A. Jinnah, Nazimuddin became the strong supporter of Pakistan in the later years.¹⁹⁴

Due to the differences within the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League a new section of leaders came to the fore. This new group was purely national in character. Among the leaders of this group were Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Ajmal Khan, Nawab Mohammad Ismail, Chaudhary Khaliquzzman, Syed Wazir Hasan, Mohammad Ibrahim, Mohd. Ali Khan Raja of Momoodabad.

Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali Popularly known as Ali brothers were prominent among the Aligarh nationalists. In the previous section of this work their role is very much emphasised, particularly under the topic of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement.

Hakim Ajmal was a trustee of the MAO College Aligarh till 1920. He played an active role in the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement alongwith Mahatma Gandhi. But he joined the Swaraj Party of Motilal Nehru in 1923 due to the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement. He was also a member of the Muslim League and Khilafat Committee. He strove manfully in 1922-23 to keep alliance between the Congress and various Muslim groups. He retired from politics in 1925 because of ill health.¹⁹⁵ When he died in 1928 Mahatma Gandhi

said in his paper 'Young India' in January 1928 "In the death of Hakim Ajmal Khan the country has lost one of the trusted servants....He was a courier patriot....he was a great Musalman and equally great Indian....Hindu-Muslim unity was the breath of his nostrils."¹⁹⁶

The other prominent leader of this group was Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan. He worked as first Treasurer of AMU and appointed acting- Vice Chancellor from 1934-35. In 1947 he was appointed fullfledged Vice Chancellor of AMU. In the early years of his life he was member of the Meerut Congress Committee and remained its active member till 1928. His mind started diverting towards the Muslim League when Swami Shardhanand started Shudhi and Sangathana movements in order to call back the new Muslims into Hindu order. Nawab Mohammad Ismail with cooperation of Haji Mohammad Syed Husain formed anti-Shudhi League in 1923. From 1930 to 1946 he was a prominent leader of the Muslim League. He was President of the U.P. League Action Committee in 1945-46. In 1937 he got a personal set back when his name was rejected by Congress Parliamentary Board from the ministry in U.P. He had the claim of two members in the ministry because he alongwith Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman had supported Congress in the election campaign in many constituencies where the Muslim League was not active. Although their coalition with the Congress in U.P. could not become successful yet he had many friends in Congress and had good relations with the Congressmen. In the later years due to his independent thinking he faced displeasure of Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah. Due to that displeasure he could not be selected for the membership of the Interim govt. of 1946. He became politically inactive after assuming the charge of Vice Chancellor of AMU.¹⁹⁷

Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman was also a leader connected with Aligarh. He obtained B.A. and L.L.B. degree from Aligarh and played a great role in the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements. After the suspension of the Non-Cooperation movement he joined the Swaraj Party in 1923. After a few years he loosely associated himself with Muslim League but still had sympathy for the Congress. As Muslim league had no firm footing in U.P. till 1937, Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Mohammad Ismail along with their group decided to support the Congress in U.P. election of 1937. Thus he reached with the U.P. Congress leaders a "gentleman's agreement" that his group would support the Congress candidate in their election campaign and in return the group would be given sufficient representation in the U.P. cabinet. When the Congress candidates returned to the Assembly with the absolute majority, the Congress refused to give Chaudhary's group more than one cabinet seat. He demanded two seats to which

the Congress did not agree. The refusal of the Congress compelled Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman to sit in the opposition. It was the blunder on the part of the Congress that facilitated to give strength to the Muslim League. Thus we can say that it was the Congress which was responsible for Muslim League to flourish in U.P. From 1937 Chaudhary worked hard to energise the Muslim League in U.P. He convinced Muslim intelligentsia to cooperate with Muslim League in his goal. At the time of partition he was a member of All India Muslim League Working Committee and a lieutenant of Jinnah. He was a staunch supporter of the creation of Pakistan.¹⁹⁸

Syed Wazir Hasan completed his B.A. and L.L.B. from MAO College Aligarh. He joined the judicial service in 1903. In 1926 he returned to the politics and became President of the All India Muslim League at Bombay. He joined the Congress in 1937 and became close to Motilal Nehru. Being of an aggressive nature he opposed the Gandhian method of politics. He opposed Gandhiji's mixing politics with religion. He was staunchly secular in views and opposed the idea of Pakistan. He remained a Congress member till his death in 1947.¹⁹⁹

Mohammad Ali Khan Raja of Momoodabadd was a loyalist in the beginning of his life but his deep love for the nation compelled him to fight for the national cause. He was close friend of Motilal Nehru, Sir Ali Imam and Wazir Hasan. From 1920 to 1926 he was home member of the Governor's Executive Council of U.P. During the five years of his membership he supplied food and other thing needed to the national leaders in Lucknow jail. He made arrangements for better food and lodging to them and got a number of them freed from jail. When this term of home membership was over, he wrote a note to the government that the time had come to give constitutional rights to the Indians. He was a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity. Although he was connected with the Muslim League, he always supported the programmes launched by the Congress. He was of the opinion that Hindus and Muslims should collectively press the government to provide them the constitutional rights.²⁰⁰

Another Aligarh nationalist of this group was Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. He studied in MAO College Aligarh from 1908 to 1915. In the 1937 elections of U.P. he secured victory from the Muslim league ticket and due to the rift for portfolio between Congress and Muslim League he jumped to Congress benches. Mohammad Ibrahim was promptly picked up by the U.P. Congress as minister in the Congress government. From that time till his death in 1964 he remained a Congress worker and great nationalist.²⁰¹

Besides this group another group of nationalist Muslims and

Hindus related to Aligarh belonged to various political and independent Muslim parties like Unionist Party, Muslim Conference (Kashmir), Congress and Khilafat Party, Progressive Party etc. Among these were Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Chaudhary Mohd. Yasin Khan, Abdul Majid Khwaja, Yaqub Hasan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, K.M. Ashraf, Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Josh Malihabadi, Mohd. Habib, Mushir Hasan Kidwai, Mir Vilayat Husain, Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg, Shaikh Mohd. Abdullah, Raja Mahendra Pratap etc.

Sir Sikandar Hayat completed his matriculation from MAO School Aligarh and he left Aligarh afterwards. He was a Unionist Party member, believed firmly in communal harmony and regarded the communal problems as biggest misfortune. He remarked about the separate electorate as utter shame. He expected India to become an influential and dominant partner in the British Commonwealth.²⁰²

Another popular leader was Chaudhary Mohd. Yasin Khan. He admitted in MAO College Aligarh for the L.L.B. degree but before completing the course he left Aligarh due to some personal reasons. He was elected a member of the Punjab Assembly from 1926-46 on Unionist Party ticket and from 1952-62 on Congress party ticket. He fought for the problems of the Meos in Mewat particularly against the Raja's of Alwar and Bharatpur. At the time of partition in 1947, he prevented the Meo community from migrating to Pakistan.²⁰³

Abdul Majid Khwaja joined the MAO College Aligarh for his early education but later on he went for higher studies in Cambridge. He was a leader of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement and Secretary of the Congress Working Committee in 1923. He joined the Swaraj Party and stood against Dr. Ziauddin for Legislative Council but could not succeed. Later on he became a member of the Muslim Nationalist Party. He was great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He believed in India attaining independence and wanted protection of the religious rights of Muslims in preference to a separate homeland for them. He opposed the creation of Pakistan. He advised the Indian Muslims to find out solutions for problems directly concerning their own religion and community.²⁰⁴

The next important leader of this group was Yaqub Hasan. He was educated from MAO College Aligarh. At the time of demand of complete independence, Mr. Yaqub Hasan a Congress member opposed it and left the Congress temporarily in 1928. He was elected to the Madras Legislative Council in 1930 on the Muslim Party ticket. In 1937 he successfully contested on the Congress ticket and became the Minister of Public Works, Irrigation and Electricity deptts. With the resignation of the ministry in 1939 his political career also came to an end.²⁰⁵

Maulana Hasrat Mohani studied in MAO College Aligarh and being a poet and speaker selected among the students as Secretary of *Urdu-i-Mualla*. He was associated with various political parties like Congress, Muslim League, Khilafat Committee, Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind and Communist Party. During the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement he moved a resolution of complete independence at the annual session of the Congress at Ahmedabad in 1921 but Gandhiji opposed it and the resolution lost by a big majority.²⁰⁶

After active participation in the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements he was imprisoned in 1922. After that he associated himself with the well known communists. He left the Congress and also resigned from Jamiatul Ulema in 1929. In 1930 he attached himself with the Civil Disobedience Movement. From 1937 he was a leading worker of All India Muslim League. When the scheme of Pakistan came into its final shape and came before Muslim League for approval, Hasrat, the old rebel took exception to it and challenged the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. In the storm of shouts he stood firm to make his voice heard "Look here, Mr. Jinnah, you are surrounded by political adventurers." He was a member of the Constituent Assembly and was the only one amongst the fathers of Indian Constitution who refused to sign when its draft was complete. His unwillingness was due to partition of India and its membership of the Commonwealth.²⁰⁷

Dr. Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf was a student of graduation in MAO College Aligarh when Khilafat and Non-Cooperation was launched. He was very active in Aligarh politics during Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement. In 1928 he actively worked against Simon Commission. He took inspiration from Russian Revolution and social reconstruction of the Soviet Union and became a Communist (Nationalist Marxist). He joined the Congress Socialist Party and later on became an active member of the Communist Party of India, and his activities were mostly in the regions of Alwar, Bharatpur, Gurgaon, Mathura, Agra and Aligarh.²⁰⁸

Khwaja Ahmad Abbas took his higher education from AMU. He graduated in History and Politics in 1933 and Law in 1935. The Progressive Writers Movement (PWM) which began in India in 1936 nurtured him as a writer. It brought him in contact with communism and Marxism. Later on he became the Secretary of the PWM and wrote much about the communist ideology and gave stress on the independence and national movement in his writings.²⁰⁹

Jan Nisar Akhtar, an Urdu poet completed all his education like B.A., M.A., Ph.D., from AMU. He was full of progressive and communist ideology in AMU. He was also having many friends and teachers of same ideology in AMU like; Ali Sardar Jafri, Majaz, Ahmad

Abbas, Sibte Hasan, Akhtar Husain Raipuri, Hayatullah Ansari, Saadat Hasan Manto, Shahid Latif, Jazbi, Akhtarul Iman etc. Jan Nisar Akhtar was true Marxist and professed it through his poetry. His poetry was full of nationalistic feelings.²¹⁰ Another national writer Josh Malihabadi admitted in MAO College in 1912 for his school education. But after a few years he left Aligarh and completed his education from Lucknow and Agra. He was also a progressive national writer. In 1934 he met Qazi Sir Azizuddin the Prime Minister of Datia State. The P.M. offered him rupees sixteen hundred for editing a pro-British newspaper but Josh rejected the offer and joined the Progressive Movement. He played an active role in the achievement of his goal with help from the likes of Sibte Hasan, Majaz, Ali Sardar Jafri and Mohd. Raza Ansari. His most famous poem was "*East India Company Ke Farzandon Se*" which was published in Sep. 1939 in the progressive newspapers "*Naya Adab*" and "*Kalim*" from Lucknow.²¹¹ Another Marxist leader of Aligarh was Prof. Mohammad Habib, an eminent historian of India. He associated himself with Non-Cooperation Movement in Aligarh. He joined the AMU in 1922 as a Reader and in 1923 at the age of barely 28 years he became the youngest Professor of History in any Indian university.²¹² Another radical nationalist of the socialist group was Mushir Hasan Kidwai. He was the President of the socialist group of the Legislative Assembly members formed in 1924. He also joined the judicial service and became a senior judge on the Lucknow bench. In 1930's his activities became more radical and became President of the non-communal All India Independent League. He wrote two books "*Swaraj and How to Obtain it*" (Lucknow 1924) and "*Pan Islamism and Bolshevism*" (London 1937).²¹³

Two Kashmiri leaders who played important role in national movement of Kashmir were Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg. Both of them after taking educational degrees from AMU, joined the Kashmiri national movement. Shaikh Abdullah became president of the J&K Muslim Conference and Afzal Beg became its General Secretary. In 1939 the name of Muslim Conference was changed to National Conference. National Conference launched the 'Quit Kashmir' movement in 1946 under the leadership of Shaikh Abdullah against the autocratic rule of the Maharaja. Both leaders were arrested in 1946 and released in September 1947. When Pakistan organised a raid to annex Kashmir. Shaikh Abdullah along with his followers including Afzal Beg mobilized popular resistance against the raiders and supported the accession of the state to India.²¹⁴

Raja Mahendra Pratap was an Aligarh of whose achievements the AMU is proud even to this day. He was a son of a jagirdar Raja Ghanshyam Singh of Hathras. He was admitted MAO College in 1898

for school education and he completed Intermediate from here. But he could not complete his B.A. and left the education for ever. He was a nationalist leader who created a brilliant history by forming the first Indian independent government with its headquarters in Afghanistan. He was very actively supported by Obaidullah Sindhi. On 1st December, 1915 he formed the independent govt. of India in Kabul with the cooperation of King Habibullah of Afghanistan on the occasion of his birthday. Raja Sahib as its President, Maulana Barkatullah as its Prime Minister and Obaidullah Sindhi as its Home Minister took oath of loyalty. The newly formed Indian government forged an agreement with King Habibullah. He also tried to have good friendly relations with neighbouring countries, sent ambassadors to the court of Indian Raja's. Maharaja Nabha extended cooperation to him. This government lost its existence when the new king of Afghanistan King Amanullah made a friendly agreement with the British government.²¹⁵

Loyalists

Besides the nationalists the other most prominent group of Indian (Alig) Muslims was the group of loyalists. This group had the primary aim to get government support for the Muslim community. They were therefore followers of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. They thought that time was not ripe for the Muslims to struggle against the British government. The Muslims were not so advanced and forward like their Hindu counterparts. They opined that the Muslims were socially, economically, politically and educationally backward and that they should first get educated to emerge as strong community to face any situation in India. This could only be achieved, they thought, by the loyalty to the British government. The AMU was the only institution which ensured the advancement and prosperity of the Indian Muslims and it was running with the help of the British government. If we see the detail about the loyalist leaders we find that they were having internal sympathy either to the Congress or Muslim League and it is well known that the objective of both the parties was to achieve constitutional rights for Indians (Hindus, Muslims and others) or to achieve swaraj or independence. The loyalists were Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Shaikh Abdullah (Alig), Agha Khan etc. All these leaders were always loyal to the British government only to ameliorate the position of the Muslims though they were having national feelings. Shahibzada Aftab Khan was of the Congress mentality. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and Agah Khan were associated with the Muslim League and Shaikh Abdullah (Alig) had leanings towards Congress as well as towards Muslim League. Their role in the

educational development of Muslims had already been mentioned in the preceding chapters.

The other loyalists were Syed Bashir Ahmad, Mohammad Yaqub, Nawab of Chhatari, Sir Mohammad Shafi, Syed Reza Ali, Mir Vilayat Husain. Syed Bashir Ahmad was a member of the AMU Court for twenty five years and member of Executive Council of AMU for 1957-65. He fought for the rights of educationally backward communities without any religious or communal bias.²¹⁶

Another loyalist Mohammad Yabub took all his education form MAO College. He was also appointed as trustee of the college. He became President of All India Muslim League in 1927 and later on became its Secretary. He was a member of Age of Consent Committee in 1928 and Indian Franchise Committee in 1932. He also played an active part during his membership of AMU Court and Muslim Educational Conference. He also held the honour of Knighthood from the British govt.²¹⁷

Ahmad Said Khan the Nawab of Chhatari was a top rank loyalist. He was educated in MAO School Aligarh. He was elected unopposed to the newly constituted UP Legislative Assembly from Zamindar Party in 1920 when the legislatures had been boycotted by the Muslim League and Khilafat Committee. He was appointed minister in 1923. When Raja of Mahmoodabad completed his term as the Home member of the Governor's Executive Council, Nawab Chhatari succeeded him and continued till 1933. He took over charge of Governorship of UP in 1928. In 1941, he became President of Executive Council of Nizam of Hyderabad and continued till 1946.²¹⁸

Another top level loyalist was Sir Mohammad Shafi, a Trustee of the MAO College. He was made Vice President of the Viceroy's Executive Council and he retained that office till 1925. He also became member of Education and Health and subsequently the Law member in the government of India. He was against joint electorate and felt shocked when M.A. Jinnah accepted it on certain conditions in 1927. Presiding Lahore session of the Muslim League he said that it will be in the highest degree injurious to the cause of Indian nationalism.²¹⁹

Syed Reza Ali educated in MAO College and obtained his Law degree. He was also elected Vice President of students union in 1902. In 1924 he was President of the All India Muslim League. He was a member of the Indian government deputation of South Africa in 1925-26 and an agent of the government of India in South Africa in 1935. He was conferred Knighthood and CBE. He considered swarajists to be obstructionist because of their demand for swaraj without adequate safeguards for minorities. He opposed the idea of Constituent Assembly for India and pointed out that the Indians were being maltreated outside

India (in South Africa) and British govt. should protect them.²²⁰

Mir Vilayat Husain completed his education from MAO College Aligarh and also appointed as a teacher afterwards. In the early years of his career he was a khilafatist and opposed the government but in 1921 he turned to be a loyalist again.²²¹

All the above titanic loyalist figures always invited the Viceroy, Governor and other high officials of the British government to visit the Aligarh university who patronised and gave generous donations. All said and done the loyalist left no stone unturned in securing moral support and demanding safeguards of Muslim interests and constitutional rights from the British govt.

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4. *The Pioneer*, 11th January, 1888. See also Zakaria, Rafiq, *Rise of Muslims in Indian Politics*, Bombay, 1970, pp. 54-55
5. Muhammad, Shan, *Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, Delhi, 1981 p.60 (Hereafter cited as *Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*)
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7. *Ibid*
8. *AIG*, 24th October, 1906
9. *Ibid*
10. *Ibid*
11. *The Englishman*, 31 December, 1906
12. *Ibid*
13. *Ibid*
14. *Ibid*
15. *Growth of Muslim Politics in India*, p. 77
16. *AIG*, 11th October, 1911
17. *Ibid*, 11th November, 1911
18. *Al-Hilal*, 9th October, 1912 No. 13, p.11
19. *AIG*, 15th October, 1912
20. *Ibid*, 19th October, 1912
21. *AIG*, 30th October, 1912
22. *Ibid*
23. *Ibid*
24. *Ibid*, 8th January, 1913
25. *Ibid*
26. *Naqoosh*, Lahore, January, 1955, p. 4
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28. *Ibid*
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32. Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, p.109

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34. MAS, Vol. IX 1975, pp. 227-229, See also Sumit Sarkar, p. 143 and *Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, p. 83

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37. Shakir, Moin, *Khilafat to Partition, 1919-47* New Delhi, 1970, p.66, (Hereafter cited as 'Moin Shakir')

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39. *Ibid*

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49. Hasan, Mushirul, *Mohammad Ali : Ideology and Politics*, New Delhi, 1981, p.44

50. *Hayat-i-Astab*, p. 206

51. *Mushahidat-o-Taassurat*, pp. 286-290

52. Quadiri, Khalid Hasan, *Hasrat Mohani*, Delhi, 1985, p. 114 (Hereafter quoted as *Hasarat Mohani*)

53. Hadi, Syed Mohammad, *Ali Biradran Aur Unka Zamana*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 91 (Hereafter cited as *Ali Biradran*)

54. Hasan, Mushirul, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916-1928*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 173

55. *Ibid*, See also, *File No. 6, p. 8(UPSAL)*

56. Ali, Shaikh Shaid, *Majmua Risala-i-Hijrat wa Risala-i-Qurbani Gao*, Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, 1920, p.150, cited in MAS, Vol.13, Part I, February 1979, pp. 41-57

57. *Hijrat* was not liked by many Khilafat leaders like Dr. M.A. Ansari, Hasrat Mohani, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Asaf Ali, Mohammad Shafi, Fazli Husan and Dr. Mohammad Iqbal etc. MAS, Vol. 13, Part I, February 1979, pp. 41-57

58. *Ibid*

59. *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-1928*, p. 176 See also *Ali Biradran*, p. 91

60. Interestingly by the same tactics the British Government kept Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya to its support as government had already granted Hindu University at Banaras. Sen S.P., *Dictionary of National Biography*, Calcutta,

1974 (Here after quoted as Sen)

61. *Hasrat Mohani*, p. 219

62. Azad, Abdul Kalam, *India Wins Freedom*, Madras, 1998, p. 11

63. *Bombay Chronicle*, 16th October, 1920

64. Shaikh Abdullah incorrectly says that Gandhiji came direct from Calcutta. Gandhiji had been in Moradabad on 11th October from where he came to Aligarh. (Govt. of India Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 18, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 344-345 See also, *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp. 106-107)

65. *Mushahidat-o-Taasurat*, pp. 294-295

66. *Ibid*

67. *Zia-i-Hayat*, pp. 68-69

68. *Ibid*

69. *Bombay Chronicle*, 16th October, 1920

70. *Dept. of Police, S. No. 16/3, (UPSAL)*

71. *Ibid*, Gandhiji's speech reproduced in his *Collected Works*, Vol. 18 p. 345, refers that Gandhiji on the criticism on the Non-Cooperation being a destructive step, admitted; 'This work is certainly destructive, but the seeds which have grown need to be rooted out so that a good crop may be sown". Gandhiji further questioned the extent of loyalty to the Raj, its bureaucracy and the Union Jack. And finally he allays the apprehension of the students that participation in the Non-Cooperation would lead to the stoppage of Govt.aid 'Collected Works', Vol.18, p.345, Interestingly in his autobiography Gandhiji refers to his Aligarh visit in few sentences : "A little while after this I was taken by the friends to the Muslim College Aligarh. There I invited the young men to be Fakirs for the service of the motherland". M.K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Ahmedabad, 1945, p. 540.

72. *Dept. of Police, S. No. 16/3, (UPSAL)*

73. *The Bombay Chronicle* gives a contradictory report, it admits that it was a mass (ive) meeting in the Union Club of which Mr. Gandhi was already a member but it also says that Gandhi's meeting got a poor response. *The Aligarh Magazine* reciprocates the same, giving the reference of Moahmmad Ali. But it gives the details of students response that on 12th October the students did not attend the classes; and that in the meeting which was being held ,Zakir Husain declared to forgo his scholarship. For details see the *Bombay Chronicle*, 16th October, 1920; *The Aligarh Magazine*, Special Number 1953-54, 1954-55 , pp. 271-272.

74. *Deptt-Home-Political, Call. 210-216 & KW-Dec-A-1920 (NAI)*. Shaikh Abdullah says that on 13th October, 1920 a meeting was held in which Ali brothers appealed students for Non-Cooperation. Mr. Mohammad Ali started weeping and decided to move with a verse:

Nikalna Khud Se Adam Ka Sunte Aai The Lekin
Bare Be Aabroo Hokar Tere Kooche Se Hum Nikle

The students became very much grieved. They demanded another college for their study on the condition of leaving the college, See for details in *Mushahidat-o-Taassurat*, pp. 295-296, and *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp.107-109

75. Mudholi, Abdul Ghaffar, *Jamia Ki Kahani*, Part-I, Delhi, 1964, pp. 21-22, See also, *Aligarh Magazine*, 1953-54-1954-55, p. 72

76. *Dept. Home-Political, Call. -59-Dec-Deposit-1920 (NAI)*, See also , *Bombay Chronicle*, 10th October, 1920

77. *Mushahidat-o-Taassurat*, p. 296, See also, *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp. 107-109

78. *The Leader*, 15th October, 1920. See also, *Hayat-i-Abdullah*, pp. 104-105, Ghaffar, Quzi Abdul, *Hayat-i-Ajmal*, 1950, pp. 234-235 and *Zia-i-Hayat*, pp. 69-70

79. *The Leader*, 18th October, 1920, See also, *The Pioneer*, 18th October, 1920, *Bombay Chronicle*, 26th October, 1920, AIG, 23th October, 1920, pp.3-4,

and *Aligarh Magazine*, September-October, 1920, Vol XVII, p.13

80. *Dept. of Home-Political, Call. 210-216 & KW-Dec-A-1920*

81. *The Leader*, 20th October, 1920. See also, *Bombay Chronicle*, 26th October, 1920 and Gali Minault, p.117

82. *Ibid*, 22th October, 1920 & *AIG*, 20th October, 1920

83. *The Leader*, 22th October, 1920

84. *The Pioneer*, 24th October, 1920

85. *Ibid*, Amin Zuberi syas that one thousand letters addressed to the Principal in support of his policy and only three were received in support of the Non-Cooperation. *Zia-i-Hayat*, pp.70-72

86. *Ibid*

87. *Ibid*, 25th October, 1920

88. *The Pioneer*, 25th October, 1920. *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, contrary to *The Pioneer*, *The Leaders* and *Bombay Chronicle* says that Mohammad Ali in his speech criticized Sir Syed Ahmad's educational policy. According to Gazette, Dr.M.A. Ansari said that most of the staff of National Muslim University would be Hindus. It had been also published in *Bombay Chronicle*, 25 October, 1920, *AIG*, 24th October, 1920. Undoubtedly these were the false points which had been released to woo the students in their favour.

89. *The Pioneer*, 25th October, 1920

90. Hasan, *Mushirul Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, 1885-1930, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 141-142

91. Rizvi, Khurshid Mustafa, *Hayat-i-Zakir Husain*, Delhi, 1949, p. 61 See also *Hayat-ul-Bashir*, p. 197

92. Hasan, *Mushirul, Mohammad Ali: Ideology and Politics*, New Delhi, 1981, pp.55-56

93. *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, 1916-1928, p. 183

94. *The Tribune*, 30th October, 1920, writes that a father donated a sum of Rs. 100 to the Khilafat Committee as his contribution

95. *Dept. Home-Political, Call. 59, De. Deposit-1920 (NAI)*

96. *Dept. Home-Political, Call. 210-216 & Kw-Dec.A., 1920 (NAI)*

97. *Ibid*

98. *The Pioneer*, 30th October, 1920

99. *Ibid*

100. *Ibid*. See also in *The Leader*, 30th October, 1920. It is also cited in *Bayan* of Dr. Ziauddin, Aligarh, (ND) P. 36 *Nationalism and Communal politics in India*, 1916-1928, of Mushirul Hasan, p. 182 and *MAS*, Vol. 8, Part II, 1974, p. 186

101. A goverment despatch dated 27th October, 1920 thus report the situation in the campus"-----the college had been closed until the 30th Novemeber. There is a great gathering of Musalmans. The situation is unwinding itself. I hope that the invaders will be repelled with loss, but the temper of the Musalmans is queer--"(Letter of Sir Harcourt Butler to Sir William Vincent, cited in file of *Dept. of Home-Political, Call. 210-216 & Kw-Dec.A, 1920 (NAI)*)

102. *Ibid*

103. *Ibid*

104. *The Leader*, 30th October, 1920

105. *Ibid*

106. Correspondent of daily 'The Leader' puts a sentence of caution, Mr. Gandhi should note his supporters were violating the non-violent character of the movement and he should be responsible for all the consequences. *The Leader*, 31st October, 1920

107. *Ibid*

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110. *Department of Police, Serial No. 16* (UPSAL)

111. *Ibid*

112. Luke, Sir Harry, *The Old Turkey and New*, London, 1955, pp.162-163

113. Beg, Mirza Abdul Ghaffar, *Karachi Ka Tarikh-i-Mujadma*, Lucknow, 1985, p.207

114. *File No. 4/2(I), 1924* (AA) (cutting of the paper "Englishmen" 17 July 1924)

115. His mind diverted in 1903, when the improvement trust of Kanpur decided to demolish a part of Machli Bazaar Mosque in order to straighten the road. Raja Sahib met the Lt. Governor of U.P. James meston in this regard but he rejected his application and instead, accepted the decision of the improvement trust. Raja Sahib met the Viceroy Lord Curzon to save the mosque and received the sympathy of his Executive Council. He was finally able to save the mosque, but it invited the enmity of James Meston. From that time he turned a nationalist and assured himself that the aim of the Englishmen was only to divide the Hindus and Muslim of India. (*Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol II, p. 303-204).

116. *Ibid*, Vol.II p. 304

117. *Ibid*, Vol. II p. 81

118. Syed Mohammad Tonki was a student of nationalist character admitted at the time of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, thanks to the effort of Prof Mohd. Habib and K.M. Ashraf. When Tonki was completing B.T. (Modern B.Ed) one of his teachers used to talk of Non-Cooperation leaders in a derogatory manner. One day Tonki stood up in the class and opposing the teacher, said "non-cooperation made a sacrifice to serve the nation". When the teacher asked who says that ? Tonki said "I say today and History will say tomorrow". (*Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol.III, pp. 215-17)

119. *Ibid*

120. *File No. 51, 1924-24* (AA)

121. *Annual Report of the Union, 1922-37* (AMU Union Club)

122. *File No. 51, 1928-29* (AA)

123. *Annual Report of the Union, 1922-37* (AMU Union Club)

124. *File No. IV/2, 1931-32* (AA)

125. *File No. 51, 1933-35* and *File No. 51, 1934-35* (AA)

126. *Hindustan Times*, 25th January, 1937

127. *Ibid*

128. Hayatullah Ansari went to Delhi with a letter for Prof. Mohd. Habib. He met Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru at the house of Prof. Habib and convinced him to visit Aligarh and address the students. (*Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 298)

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131. *File No. 51, 1924-25* (AA)

132. *Indian Muslims*, Vol. 8 pp. 114-115

133. *India in 1925-26*, pp. 78-79 See also *Indian Muslims*, Vol. 8, pp. 114-115

134. *File No. IV/1, 1976-27* (AA)

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137. *Indian Muslims*, Vol. 8, pp. 37-38

138. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 194-196

139. *File No. 82, 1936-37* (AA)

140. *Ibid*

141. *Ibid*

142. *Indian Muslims*, Vol. 8, pp. 137-138

143. *Foundation of Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 36-38

144. Moin Shakir, p. 84 See also Desai, Mahadeo, *Maulana Azad* Delhi, 1946, pp. 61-62 (Hereafter quoted as 'Mahadeo Desai') and Muhammad, Shan, *Unpublished Letters of Ali Brothers*, Delhi, 1979, p. 234

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146. *Unpublished Letters of Ali Brothers*, pp. 240-41

147. *Foundations of Pakistan*, p. 66

148. *India in 1925-26*, p. 66

149. *Indian Muslims*, Vol. 8, taken from the *Aligarh Mail*, October 1926

150. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. III, p. 217

151. *Roshan Mustaqbil*, p. 439

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153. *Indian Muslims*, Vol. 9, p.

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156. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II,p. 205

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159. *Indian Muslims*, Vol. 9, p. 3 and *Roshan Mustaqbil*, p .439

160. Pandey, B.N., *The Indian National Movement 1885-1947*, Hongkong, 1979-1947, p. 79 (Hereafter cited as 'Pandey')

161. Ram Gopal, p. 201

162. *Ibid*, p .205

163. *Ibid*, p .206

164. *Muslim India*, p .296

165. Bipan Chandra, p .264

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167. *Ibid*, p. 437

168. Madadeo Desai, pp. 92-93

169. *Dept. of Police, File No. 151/1930* (UPSAL)

170. *Ibid*

171. *Dept. of Police, File No. 141/1930* (UPSAL)

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176. *Dept.of Police, File No. RR-26*, p. 12-13 (UPSAL)

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178. *Progress*, 1927-32, p .89

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180. *Ibid*, p. 67

181. *The Hindustan Times*, 20th Januaary, 1937 See also *Address and Speeches*, p .72

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183. *File No. RR. 26*, p. 13 (UPSAL)

184. *Dept. of GAD, File No. 555/1936* (UPSAL)

185. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol.III, p. 221

186. Sumit Sarkar, p. 349

187. In November 1948 he bacame the Vice Chancellor of AMU. He was nominated a member of the Indian University Commission. He was also nominated to the Rajy Sabha and made the Indian representative on the Executive Board of UNESCO from 1956-58. He remained the Chairmen,Central Board of Education till 1957, a member of the UGC till 1957,a member of the University Education Commission 1948-49 and of the

Education Reorganization Committee of Bihar, U.P. and M.P. in 1957 he was appointed Governor of Bihar and in 1962 elected Vice President of India. In May 1967 he was declared elected as Head of State, and was formally sworn in as the third President of Indian Republic till his sudden death on 3rd May 1969. (Sen, Vol. pp. 463-64)

188. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 113

189. Jain, Naresh Kumar, *Muslims in India: A Biographical Dictionary*. Vol. II. New Delhi, 1983, pp. 180-181. (Hereafter quoted as *Biographical Dictionary*) While imprisoned with other Congress leaders during Quit India programme, he felt convinced after seeking an Omen from Quran, that the "British would allow freedom to India" and wrote a letter to Viceroy expressing his dissociation from the programme and urging the latter to renew negotiation with Gandhi. This release which followed soon afterwards caused misunderstanding at the time. (Sen., Vol. III, pp. 194-96)

190. Sen. Vol. II, pp. 355-56 See also *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, pp. 23-25

191. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 52-53

192. Sen. Vol. pp. 5-6

193. *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, pp. 157-158

194. Sen. Vo. II, pp. 351-52

195. Robinson, p. 377 See also *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. I, pp. 66-67

196. *Young India*, 1st January, 1928

197. Sen. Vol. II, p. 187 See also Robinson, p. 371 and *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, pp. 206-207

198. Sen., Vol. II, pp. 322-23 See also Robinson, p. 376

199. Sen., Vol. I, P. 153 See also Robinson p. 371 and *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, pp. 206-207

200. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p. 179

201. Sen. Vol. II, pp.179

202. Sen. Vol. II, pp.201-202

203. *Proceedings of the IHC*, (55th Session Aligarh, 1994) Delhi, 1995, pp. 622-27

204. Sen., Vol. II. p.350 See also Robinson, p. 301

205. *Ibid*. p. 151 See also *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, pp. 10-11

206. *IAR*, 1921-22, pp. 64-67

207. Sen., Vol. II, p. 155 See also Robinson pp. 382-283

208. Sen., Vol. I, pp. 62-64

209. Ray, N.R. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Calcutta, 1986, pp. 1-2 (Here after cited as 'Ray')

210. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. III, p. 243

211. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 303-304

212. Nizami, K.A. *Politics and Society During Early Medieval Period*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1974 (Here after cited as 'Nizami')

213. Robinson, pp. 379-380

214. Robinson, p. 134 and pp. 8-9

215. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol. II, p.344

216. Sen. Vol.I, p. 99

217. Robinson, p. 417

218. Sen., Vol. II, pp. 308-309 See also *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. I, p. 62

219. Sen. Vol. I, p. 139, See also Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1982, p. 129, taken from *Indian Quarterly Register*. 1927, Vol. II, pp. 369-376

220. Robinson, p. 363 See also *Fikr-o-Nazar*, Vol.II, pp. 357-362

221. *Aap Biti*, pp. 50-51 and 71 See also Robinson, p. 421

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN ALIGARH : 1937-47

AMU and Congress Ministry

In the election of 1937 the Congress won with absolute majority in Madras, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, United Provinces and a near majority in Bombay. Later on the Congress ministries were also formed in North West Frontier Province and Assam. Even in Sindh Congress backed ministry under Allah Baksh was installed. Only in Punjab and Bengal ministries were formed under Sikandar Hayat Khan of the Unionist Party and Fazlul Haq of Kirshak Praja Party respectively. Fezlul Haq earlier tried to from the government with the support of the Congress as it did not enjoy an absolute majority but having failed to do so he took the support of the Muslim League. He also gave due share to the Muslim League in the Bengal ministry. From this election results it was clear the Muslim League had its stronghold no where, not even in the Muslim majority provinces. Till that time it had no separatist and communal programme.¹

Mr. Jinnah at Lahore in March 1936 cleared his point by saying, "Whatever I have done , let me assure you there has been no change in me, not the slightest, since the day when I joined the Indian National Congress. It may be I have been wrong on some occasions. But it is never been done in a partisan spirit. My sole and only object has been the welfare of my country. I assure you that India's interest will be sacred to me and nothing will make me budge an inch from that position."²

But poor election results of 1937 confused Mr. Jinnah, he had to renew his strategy to get the sympathy of the Muslims. The election results decided that he had no firm footing even among the Muslim massed and Muslim political parties. As almost all Muslim parties like Jamiatul Ulema-i-Hind formed in 1920 by Deoband Ulema and Aharar Party founded by ex-Khilafatist in Punjab, supported the Congress and denounced Jinnah as an 'out of date politicianmaking fetish of constitutionalism' and the League as a coterie of a few Knighths, Khan Bahadurs and Nawabs.³

In U.P. Congress rejected the coalition appeal of the Muslim

League. Nehru and Congress leftists like Narendra Dev and K.M. Ashraf feared that the coalition with Muslim League would render impossible any radical socio-economic reforms as it was dominated by upper class and zamindars.⁴ But Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad was in favour of the coalition government in U.P. and persuaded other Congress leaders to accept two top rank Muslim League leaders Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan. But his advise was not accepted. Maulana called it a blunder on the part of the Congress. If Congress had accepted the offer it might have for reaching results on the political condition of India.⁵ These dealings of the Congress political leaders provided strength to the Muslim League and it got a better chance to make Indian Muslims their followers. Being Aligarhian both the leaders influenced the AMU a great deal and the Muslim League leaders got a fair chance to convert the mentality of Aligarh intelligentsia into the Muslim League.

AMU before 1937 supported the Congress whole heartedly and had many expectations from it. But the attitude of the Congress gave the Aligarh intelligentsia a Muslim League trun. The Aligarh University Students Union became very aggressive as the proposal of their beloved leaders like Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan and Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman was spurned by the Congress.⁶

Maulana Zafar Ali delivered a speech in AMU regarding the role of the Congress in ministry formation in U.P. His speech influenced many of the students. The students later on due to frustration and dissatisfaction made ugly remarks over the Congress leaders. For the first time in the history of Aligarh, Congress made a question mark on the behaviour of Aligarh students. Since the days of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan they were marvellous example of Tahzib and Tamaddun (Civilization and Culture) all over the world. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru wrote a letter to Ismail Khan about it.⁷

In order to get support of the AMU students and other Aligarh Muslim intelligentsia, Mr. M.A. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders annually visited AMU. Their annual visit proved fruitful as most of the students began to consider Mr. Jinnah as their only leader. Aligarh students had full faith in the Muslim League and in the leadership of Mohd. Ali Jinnah. In the meeting of the Muslim University Students Union held on 8th Sept. 1939, a resolution was passed: "This meeting of the MU Union unanimously resolves that the members of the union have full faith in the leadership of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the accredited leader of the entire Muslim India. The members of the union further declare most solemnly that students of the Muslim University Aligarh will follow the commands of Mr. M.A. Jinnah whatever they be in this hour of international crisis...."⁸

Muslim League was successful in making more popular image in U.P. and particularly in Aligarh. It also began to gain strength all over India, but it was from UP that the league was reorganized. The Punjab Premier and Unionist leader Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Bengal Premier the Krishak Praja Party leader Fazlul Haq with their followers also became the members of the Muslim League.⁹

The Muslim League by and large enquired about the Muslim's suffering and full details about communal riots, murder, loot and plunder of Muslim and their property, Hindi promoting scheme and ban on cow slaughter etc. in the Congress ruled provinces particularly in Bihar and U.P. The League appointed a committee under the Presidentship of Raja Mohd. Mehandi of Pirpur for such purposes. The committee submitted its report and published in late 1938 and became known as the Pirpur Report. Another committee was also appointed and its report was published in 1939 known as the Sherif Report. It was full of atrocities perpetrated by the Hindus in various parts of the provinces.¹⁰ But most of the happenings and data seemed to be clearly exaggerated. The doubt about the truth of the report were proved by the fact that the Muslim League had rejected the Congress offer of an enquiry to the charges of the Muslim League by Chief Justice Maurice Gwyer.¹¹ The Muslim League declared that government in Punjab and Bengal were quiet peaceful. As Bengal Premier Fazlul Haq described "In the Congress provinces riots had laid the country wide waste. Muslim life, limb and property have been lost and blood had freely flowed but here in Bengal not one head had been broken and not one drop of blood had been shed.....Here I defy anyone to site a single instance where a Hindu officer had been unfairly treated by us."¹²

In Punjab Sir Sikandar Hayat, being an Aligarhian, had great respect for the secular traditions of Aligarh. His ministry not only included his Unionist colleagues but also Sir Sunder Singh Majithia of Khalsa Nationalist Party and Sir Manohar Lal of National Progressive Party. His reign was very beautifully described by Maulana Zafar Ali as follows:¹³

*"Kio (Kai) Din Me Yahan Phir Daur-i-Akbar Ane Wala Hai,
Sikandar Hai Abul Fazal Aur Manohar Lal Tadarmal"*

The Congress ministry barring some unfortunate communal events was very much blamed for its controversial policy of Hindi and Urdu. In the beginning Congress adopted policy of promoting Hindustani but slowly and gradually it adopted Hindi promoting policy by neglecting Urdu. This was proved by the fact that in U.P. in the budget of 1938 as handsome money was given to the colleges of

Benars where Sanskrit and Hindi languages were being taught. The government did not give any heed to the institution where Urdu, Arabic and Persian were being taught. This pro-Hindi policy of the Congress government had goaded the Muslim in the path of darkness and ultimately they decided to join the Muslim League.¹⁴

The Aligarh students took it very seriously and the students union of the Muslim University called a meeting on 26th Feb. 1939 to discuss the future of 'Urdu' and measures to protect it. They resolved, "This meeting opines that 'Urdu' should be declared as an official language of the Muslim University Union. To achieve this purpose it is necessary that :¹⁵

- (a) All the narratives of the proceedings would be read and written in Urdu but the discussions, the speeches and narratives would be in English.
- (b) In the welcome meetings, condolence meeting and other extraordinary meetings the proceedings would be generally in Urdu.
- (c) All the works of office related to intimation and advertisements would be in Urdu, although English would be included if necessary.
- (d) In the regulation of union some rupees would be sanctioned every year for the publication of Urdu.
- (e) Generally, speeches would be in Urdu but those who can not speak Urdu, would be authorised to make speeches in English with the permission of the President.
- (f) Similarly if any post holder of the union can not speak Urdu, would be allowed to deliver his speech in English.
- (g) The rules and regulations of the union with necessary modifications must be compiled in Urdu".

The resolution was unanimously passed by select committee of the union. It was the initial measures adopted by Aligarh university for the promotion of Urdu.¹⁶

In the provinces of Congress ministry particularly in UP many anti-social elements who not only tried to subjugate the Muslims but divided the Muslims in such a way that they kept fighting with each other. In Lucknow the Shia-Sunni controversy was the example. Muslim League claimed that it was the Congress government which was really responsible of all that controversy. Khaksar Movement tried its level best to console the two sects of the Muslim community Shia and Sunni but its efforts were frustrated by the government by imposing ban on the movement and by imprisoning the workers of the movement.¹⁷ The Aligarh students were furious over that and they called a meeting of the union to show their resentment. The meeting passed the following resolutions: "This meeting of the MU

Union views with deep resentment to the fascist policy of repression pursued by the Congress govt. of U.P. towards the Khaksars who are working to bring about an understanding between the two leading sects of Musalmans at Lucknow. While protesting against the drastic measures and inhuman treatment meted out by the government to the Khaksars, it urges upon the All India Muslim League and Congress High Command to realize the need of forming in this hour of national emergency, a united front to check the meance of repression and exert their influence on the UP cabinet to bring about an immediate and unconditional release of the Khaksar prisoners and to lift ban imposed upon the said movement.”¹⁸ They also persuaded university authorities and prominent Muslim leaders to go to Lucknow and console both the sects of the Muslims. Prominent Muslim leaders from all over India rushed to Lucknow and appealed the Shias and Sunnis of Lucknow to stop this useless and absurd controversy. Sir Reza Ali, Dr. Sir Ziauddin, Sir Mohammad Yaqub, Sir Sikanar Hayat Khan and A.K. Fazlul Haq tried their level best to bring compromise between the two but failed to change their mob mentality. Even Congress leader Maulana Abul Kalam Azad could not evolve a compromising formulae.¹⁹

In the Central Provinces the Congress leaders in league with the Arya Samaj created disturbance in Hyderabad State. Here Hindu particularly Arya Samajist made an agitation against Nizam. To cite one Mr. Baldev an Arya Samajist preacher, “There should be no trace of Muslims in India, there should be Hindu Raj, we have to secure the throne of Nizam within six month.”²⁰ A popular song sung by them meant that they will kick out the Muslims from the state. A Congress leader and speaker of the Central Provinces Assembly was very much active in this movement.²¹

As the Nizam was very closely associated with Aligarh, the Aligarh also always cherished him. At this hour of crisis Aligarh students tried their level best to pacify the problem and also threatened the C.P. govt. and communal organizations to stop the said movement in the Nizam’s territory. They called a meeting of the union and expressed their resentment against the activities of Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress because these parties were holding tumultuous agitations against govt. of Nizam Hyderabad and also instigated his subjects. They declared emotionally that if conditions would not get normal and the activities of Hindu Mahasabha and Indian National Congress would continue against the government of Nizam, the Muslim university students who belonged to different parts of India, would involve whole heartedly with all their power and would not hesitate in sending their service in favour of Nizam.²²

In the Congress ministry in UP the most undesirable event took place in Aligarh on 26th January 1939. In the evening most of the university students had gone to the exhibition. The students of university school, known as Minto Circle had also gone with their Headmaster Mr. G.C. Woods. In the exhibition a policeman chided an innocent student. This event provoked the rest of the students present in the exhibition ground. It was also said that some volunteers of the Hindu Sewa Samiti had attacked the students. A responsible police officer and constable took side of the samiti volunteers and ordered 'lathi charge' on Muslim students. Even revolver shots were used by the police officers. This rendered the situation from bad to worse and many camps were set fire in that very rumpus.²³

About this incident the Muslim Association of Allahabad held an emergent meeting on 3rd Feb. 1939 under the Secretaryship of Shah Hafeez Alam Jung and passed the resolution that "The Muslim Association of Allahabad is alarmed at the news emanating from Lucknow that the Congress govt. is taking serious view of Aligarh incident. The association warns the government that any mishandling in this matter will set the whole province ablaze for which the Congress government will be responsible. The association demanded the immediate transfer of distt. officials."²⁴ Another meeting of Old Boys Association of Hyderabad held on 3.2.39 presided over by Muhiuddin Yar Jung. A copy of the resolution was sent to Vice Chancellor and university union. The general meeting of Hyderabad old boys resolved "this meeting greatly admires and appreciates the sense of discipline shown by the students against grave provocation and requests the Vice Chancellor to convey to boys this expression of sincere administration from their elder brothers of Hyderabad."²⁵ The Muslim University Union on its part also held a meeting on 27th Jan. 1939, a day after the event had taken place. They passed a resolution which reads as follows :²⁶

- "(1) That the member of the MU Union strongly condemn the irresponsible and callous treatment of the Aligarh distt. police towards the students of the Muslim University in distt. exhibition. They demand from the distt. authorities to take necessary action against those police constables and officers who took aggressive part in the quarrel, assaulted the students and made lathi charge upon them.
- (2) That the members of the MU Union sincerely sympathise with those fellow students who have been seriously injured.
- (3) That the Aligarh distt. exhibition must be completely boycotted and no student of the university or any its allied institutions should visit the exhibition.

- (4) to give expression to our selfrespect the members of the union should not go to the exhibition until and unless the distt. authorities, being persuaded by the dukandars, ask the police to apologize for their misbehaviour.
- (5) That the members of the union strongly condemn and challenge the inaccurate and misleading statement issued by the Distt. Magistrate and published in *The Hindustan Times* of the 27th Jan. 1939."

League Propaganda

Throughout the twenty seven months rule of the Congress in the provinces, Muslim League kept up an intense propaganda. It made countrywide tour against Congress ministry and mobilized the Muslim masses and particularly Muslim intelligentsia. For that very purpose the League blamed the Congress for its anti-Muslim policies. In 1938 Mr. Jinnah in his Presidential address of the Muslim League said: "The High Command of the Congress is absolutely determined to crush all other communities and cultures in this country and establish Hindu Raj in this country."²⁷ Mr. Jinnah made almost annual visit to the Muslim University and made the position of the Muslim League stronger. He was regularly invited to attend the seminars and debates and preside over the functions of the university union. His speeches left a deep impression on his listeners.²⁸

In 1938, when Mr. Jinnah was invited as a chief guest in a function of Muslim University, he delivered a very long and impressive speech. The excerpt of the same are being quoted here. He addressed the students saying:....To a very great extent Muslim League has freed the Musalmans from the clutches of the British government. But now there is another power which claims to be the successor of the British government, call it by whatever name but it is Hindu and Hindu government....."

"My appeal is to you come to the platform of the League. If Muslims are united, the settlement will come sooner than you think. You will have established your claim to achieve freedom. After a few month's work the League's name is known to every corner of India. Lakhs of people are joining it. Even those who are against us, will realize that they are under a serious delusion and their only course is to join the League and make Musalman with one voice."

"I am convinced that you will agree with me that Congress policy is to divide the Muslims among themselves. It is the same old tactics of the British government. They follow the policy of their masters. Do not fall into their trap...."

“....I find in front of me the finest recruiting ground. Lacs are ready to serve the plateform and flag of the All India Muslim League.... The British government is always thinking of what the Congress is doing, to be repercussions of the British policy in the Congress camp. But will the British government think of you ? No, because you are not an organized power and established your solidarity. The Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and suppressed.”²⁹

Besides this visit Mr. Jinnah till 1940 visited Aligarh three times, in January and September 1939 and in March 1940, and addressed Aligarh youths for the cause of nation and Muslim League.³⁰ He made Aligarh students a strong supporter of Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah also claimed from the Congress to recognise the League a sole representative body of the Indian Muslims. But Congress rejected the claim. Khaliquzzaman admit with frankness. “Congress rejection of Jinnah’s position was ‘a piece of good luck for us, for if Congress had accepted the position at the time when the demand was made by the League, I wonder what positive demands we could then have made.”³¹ Because till that time more or less all demands of the Muslim League had been accepted by the British and Congress alike.

On 3rd Sept. 1939 when World War II started, British government without consultation of Indian leaders thrown up India into the war. Congress felt humiliation and ultimately all the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned from the office in the protest in early November 1939 and in pursuance of Section 93 of the government of India Act 1935, Governors assumed control of the legislative and administrative powers within the provinces. Muslim League observed a ‘Day of Deliverance’ as a sign of relief on the resignation of the Congress ministries in the provinces. As its Lahore session held in March 1940 the Muslim League enunciated the theory that the Muslims were not “a minority” but a “nation”....and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state (Pakistan). “That is the area in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”³²

The observance of ‘Day of Deliverance’ by Muslim League was highly condemnable. In the words of Jinnah the Congress ministries were actuated by a decidedly anti-Muslim policy. If we suppose that Jinnah is correct then what action he had taken for 80 million Muslims of India in such circumstances, why there was no movement against such atrocities committed by Congress ministry? Why had they waited for 30 long months for its resignation. When they resigned by their

own choice and free will, Jinnah and his followers observed the 'Day of Deliverance. The League crossed the limits of excessive communalism when in 1940 it passed 'Pakistan' resolution. This famous resolution created a permanent rift between the Hindus and the Muslims and finally divided the country between two nations, viz. India and Pakistan.

AMU's Response to Congress and British Policies

Although the cherished leaders of AMU Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan were deprived from the Congress ministry in UP, the Congress could not lose its base in AMU.³³ The Congress leaders were being welcomed whenever they visited Aligarh university. Dr. Syed Mahmood, Minister of Education in Bihar; Hon'ble Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, Premier of U.P. and Hon'ble Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Revenue Minister of U.P. visited AMU and their aim was to check the hold of Muslims League in the university and they became quite successful in their aim. But due to the annual visit of Mohd. Ali Jinnah and his provocative speeches effected the students very much. It resulted in the creation of another section of students which was a staunch supporter of the Muslim League.³⁴ No doubt Muslim League tried its level best to create a Muslim League atmosphere among the Indian Muslims but an independent, secular and national traditions of Aligarh always encouraged them for the cause of India. Most of the Aligarh Muslim leaders also could not control their nerves to support the national policies of the Congress inspite of being members of the Muslim League. Nawab Ismail Khan the President of the UP League inspite of being deprived from the university in UP, had friendship with almost all the top most Congress leaders. In the AMU Court the majority was of the Congress men. Even on the key posts of the AMU many Congress minded men were appointed.³⁵

A letter of the Muslim League leader of Aligarh Mr. Sattar Khairi to Mohd Ali Jinnah on October 12, 1941 throws much light on the political conditions of AMU. It need to be quoted here. ".....Mr. Jinnah you remember, three years ago both Dr. Ziauddin and Nawab Ismail Khan on your advice withdrew their names from being candidate for the Vice Chancellorship.....Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant was angry with Nawab Ismail Khan on account of withdrawing his name, Mr. Pant had made all arrangements for leave etc. for such members of the university Court who were to vote for Nawab Sahib. Nawab Ismail Khan has been the greatest supporter of Dr. Zakir Husain of Jamia Millia who had been doing his best to introduce Congress minded members in the staff and the Court. Another great friend of Nawab Sahib has been Khan Bahadur Deputy Habibullah, of bitter enemy of

the League workers in the university. About this Dr. Abid Husain, Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad and myself protested once to Nawab Sahib. So far once he stayed at Dr. Abid's house when he came on League business and we three and few others spoke to Nawab Sahib about Dr. Zakir. Upon this Nawab lost all self control and was full of rage. Now the thing has been exposed. They have been intriguing to bring in Congresswala in the key position in the university. It were these three persons who had been in Executive Council of the university Tasadduq Ahmad Sherwani, Abdul Majid Khuwaja Abdul Hameed..... I pray that God shall give you strength in this great hour of trial and true insight into the needs of the Indian Muslims.³⁶

The way of the Congress in AMU remained unaffected till the selection of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad as Vice Chancellor of AMU in 1941. Members of the Muslim League in the university regarded the selection of Dr. Ziauddin as the greatest victory of the Muslim League.³⁷ Dr. Ziauddin was a loyalist, true Musalman and a member of the Muslim League also. In 1941 when anti-Congress propaganda by Muslim League was at its hight, he became the VC of AMU. At the beginning of the new session in Aug. 1941 he addressed the students "This university is a Muslim institution which has preserved an Islamic atmosphere and respect for Islamic tenets. For those who oppose and underline Islamic belief and practices in addressing the students of the Muslim University are over."³⁸

In the course of World War II Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and other Congress leaders visited Aligarh many times. Pt. Nehru explained the Congress attitude towards war and paid particular attention to the need for the enrolment of the Congress volunteers. Subhash Chandra Bose also addressed the Aligarh people in Jan. 1940. He described India's poverty to the British rule and made an impassioned appeal advocating immediate mass struggle for the country's independence.³⁹

The Aligarh Political Conference held on April 30th and May 1st, 1940 was presided over by Acharya Narendra Deo. The other speakers were Kailash Nath Katju, Krishan Datta Paliwal and Malkhan Singh. They explained that how British were using Indian men and money to carry on the war despite opposition of the Congress. They said that the exploitation would never end until the British imperialism was destroyed. In this conference resolutions condemning the war were passed. In 1940 Individual Satyagraha was launched particularly against the war funds and a number of people courted arrest.⁴⁰

Actullay the beginning of the World War turned the tide of the political activities all over India. While Congress had anti-war policy and protesting against exploitation of Indian resources for imperialistic ends and demanded that "India must be declared an independent

nation". The All India Muslim League started its Pakistan Movement during this World War crisis. This non-Congress ministries in Punjab, Sindh and Bengal extended their full support to the British government. The Indian states as usual also offered their full support in terms of man and money. The Hindu Mahasabha and National Liberal Federation also offered unconditional support to the government.⁴¹

The conflicting ideology of the politicians all over India affected the political activities of Aligarh very much. They also divided themselves into 'pro' and 'anti' of the British government by following their policy makers. The loyalist elements which had developed from very beginning got strength and started supporting the British government fully in order to get its sympathy. During the war time the local landlords and other loyalists helped the government in recruiting programme and other war efforts. They did so to get support of the wealthy and powerful hands of the government for their own sake or the for the sake of their community. In Aligarh Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad who was also a member of the Muslim League followed the ideology of Muslim League. But much against the wishes of the League leaders he adopted loyalist attitude with government as he thought that the Muslim community could not be powerful without support of the government. For that cause he sometimes did loyalist activities for the happiness of the British government. On the occasion of the celebration of the coronation of Their Majesties King George VI Emperor of India and Queen Elizabeth, on 12th May 1937, Dr. Ziauddin alongwith his loyalists friends illuminated the university clock tower and organised a university dinner followed by a cinema show.⁴².

On that occasion almost all the Raises of Aligarh distt. also celebrated the coronation at Darbar Pandal near Lal Daggi, Aligarh. The hosts were Nawab Bahadur of Bhikampur, Nawab Sadar Yar Jang of Habibganj, R.B. Sultan Singh M.B.E. of Lucknow, K.B. Haji Ghulam Mohd Khan Dadon, R.B. Pratap Bhan Singh of Kapasia, Kr. Raj Kumar Singh of Barauli, R.B. Seth Chiranji Lal Bagla of Hathras, Mohd. Abul Muqit Khan of Bhikampur Kr. Ram Singh of Lucknow, S. Ali Asghar of Jalali, Shah Udai Ram of Vajidpur, B. Dwarka Prassad Bhargawa of Sasni, Raja Bahadur of Murson, K.B. Obaidur Rahman of Bhikampur, R.S. Sheodhan Singh of Piswa, Kr. Deo Raj Singh of Gabhana, Rao Madho Singh of Suhawali, Mr. Abid Khan of Bhikampur, S. Mahmud Hasan of Asgharbad, Seth Mahabir Prassad of Beswan. Kr. Gulzar Singh of Pisawa, Netrapal Singh of Jiroli, L. Harish Chadra of Sikandra Rao, R.B. Mathra Prassad of Man, R.B. Laxmi Raj Singh of Gabhana, Nawab Bahadur of Talibnagar, H. Mohd. Jan Khan of Dadon, R.B. Radhubir Singh of Surajpur, K.B. Munis Khan of Jatauli, Kr. Rohini Ramandhwaj Prasad Singh of Beswan, Haji Swaleh Khan

of Bhkampur, Kr. Jaipal Singh of Jalalpur, S. Masudul Hasan of Asgharabad, R.B. Mathra Prasad Bhargawa of Sasni, Kr. Virendra Singh of Birpura S. Ali Azhar of Jalali, M. Hadi Ali Khan of Sikandra Rao and Chhattar Singh of Bhartau.⁴³

Activities of various Parties and Groups in AMU

Aligarh had always been the arena of different political parties and the personalities of different ideologies. But with the defeat of Muslim League in the election of 1937 the academic atmosphere of the university suffered greatly and it was more changes with political activities at the campus. The leader of the Muslim League Mr. M.A. Jinnah visited the district several times and tried his level best to mobilise the Muslims in favour of Muslim League in the Aligarh city and in AMU.⁴⁴ His visit was always eagerly looked forward by everyone connected with the university and his thought provoking speeches and discussions became a source of inspiration for the students.⁴⁵ Besides him, other leaders like Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Hon'ble Sir Firoz Khan Noon and Hon'ble Dr. Ambedkar visited the university and delivered thought provoking speeches under the auspices of the AMU Students Union.⁴⁶ Congress also had its strong hold in the university staff and students which caused a tussle among the intelligentsia of different political ideologies.⁴⁷ Because of the political rivalry between the Congress and Muslim League in the university campus, the administrative problems arose and caused a set back to the educational development of the university.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad a devout Muslim and an active member of the Muslim League became Vice Chancellor of the AMU three times in the duration of 1935 to 1947. His Vice Chancellorship gave a further boosting to the Muslim wave in the university. In Aligarh Jinnah was always given a very warm reception every time and a band of students was prepared in the service of the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah.⁴⁸ In 1943, Dr. Ziauddin offered Jinnah honorary degree of Doctor of Laws,⁴⁹ but he hesitated and replied "I am thankful to the Court of the Muslim University Aligarh.....I have most reluctantly to say that I have lived as plain Mr. Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jinnah, I am very much averse to any title or honour and I will be much happy if there was no prefix to my name".⁵⁰

Anit-League Atmosphere

Dr. Ziauddin for his pro-Muslim League policy faced much opposition in the university as other political parties also had supporters in the AMU. In 1935 when he was elected VC for the first time he

was criticised by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Habibullah Khan, Maulvi Tufail Ahmad, Quazi Azizuddin and Mr. Zafar Umar regarding university administration. They also made personal attacks on him.⁵¹ When he was elected VC for the second time, the Old Boys Association also firmly opposed him. As a mark of protest, Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan, Dr. Zakir Husain and Khan Bahadur Maulvi Habibullah Khan resigned from the Executive Council on 7th May 1941. Again in 1943 seven members of the Court published a large pamphlet in which Dr. Ziauddin was not only criticized for his policies in the university affairs but there were also attacks on his personal life. The pamphlet was signed by Khan Bahadur Habibullah Khan and his friends. Dr. Ziauddin in return requested Executive and Academic Councils for an enquiry about it. The report was sent to the Court and it showed its disfavour over the publication of the pamphlet. But Khan Bahadur did not keep quiet and a mark of protest he resigned from the Court on Jan, 31, 1944 through a letter. In that letter he criticized Dr. Ziauddin saying that the work of Dr. Ziauddin about the development of the university and the movement for the Medical College was mere a propaganda.⁵²

He always faced a bitter opposition and criticism from many members of the Court and local personalities but they had to yield before his success. In the later years of his life he could not succeed to quell the opposition and it led to tragic end of his Vice-Chancellor ship. According to Amin Zuberi during the year of 1946 the communist wave was on its peak and there was a special lobby of communists in the university. This lobby included both staff members and the students.⁵³ By the end of December 1946, the students were used by few staff members of the lobby against Dr. Ziauddin. A student of Aftab Hall, Abdull Qadir Rizvi who was also the editor of the university magazin published a note without showing the censor of the university. The note included the role of Congress government and Hindus about the happenings in Bihar. When its news reached to the Distt. Magistrate of Aligarh, he intimated it to Dr. Ziauddin and Dr. Sahib seized all the copies of the magazine with immediate effect. Abdul Qadir and his friends alongwith the lobby made a propaganda that Dr. Ziauddin is about to hand over the editor of the university magazine to the police. This news spread like a wild fire and students demanded the resignation of the Vice Chancellor immediately.⁵⁴ A large gathering of them proceeded towards the office of the Vice Chancellor and forced him to resign. Dr. Ziauddin realized the situation and by writing the word 'resign' on a piece of paper he handed it over to the students. A large number of students who belonged to Muslim League condemned

this event and requested the Vice Chancellor to take back his resignation. But Dr.Ziauddin did not accept their request.⁵⁵ On 1st January 1947, a special meeting of the Executive Council was held to discuss the resignation of Dr.Ziuaddin Ahmad. The Council concluded their discussion with words "As Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad has requested for his resignation but Council opines that this is not a resignation and this meeting is not ready to accept it. So his resignation should be placed before the Court of the university. During this period the work of Vice Chancellor should be carried on by the Treasurer Maulvi Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani."⁵⁶ But Dr. Ziauddin accepted the request of the Council to supervise the matter related to Medical College, Polytechnic School and Dairy Farm. On 2nd March 1947 a special meeting of the Court was held and the Court requested him to continue as Vice Chancellor. But when Dr. Ziauddin deliberately refuted the request, Court ultimately accepted his resignation. Mohd. Ali Jinnah and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan proposed the name of Mr. Zahid Husain for the Vice Chancellorship. By the request of Liaqat Ali Khan Dr. Ziauddin became ready to work till April 1947.⁵⁷

The Budget Session of the Court was held on 20th April 1947 and requested Lord Rector to appoint Dr. Ziauddin as Rector of the university and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad became Rector of the university.⁵⁸ By concluding all the events it can rightly be said that the AMU was full of the persons of all ideologies and parties. They played active part whenever they got opportunity. But by Jinnah's efforts, the AMU Students Union was completely dominated by Muslim League activists. They spoke from the platform of the union regarding every national and regional events mainly concerning Muslim population.

Pro-League Atmosphere

In October 1940 the Congress inaugurated an Individual Civil Disobedience campaign. The majority of the Aligarh Muslims actively opposed the Congress policy as already in March 1940 in the Lahore session of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah declared that the Muslim nation must have a separate state.

On 17th Februrary 1941 Students's Union of AMU passed a resolution:⁵⁹

"This meeting of the MU Union places on record its considered view that the real object of the satyagraha movement lauched by the Congress is to force the hands of the British govt. to let down the Muslims and coerce them into submission to the demands of the Congress which are calculated to bring about complete Hindu

domination over the entire country. The claim that the struggle is being waged to vindicate liberty of speech is falsified by the fact that the civil and religious liberties of the Muslims were severely suppressed under Congress ministries.

"The union sounds a note of warning that if any settlement is made over the heads of the Musalmans without their approval and consent, it will lead to disastrous consequences and trusts that the government will not allow itself to be stampeded into taking any action which would adversely affect the interests of Muslims."

"The Musalmans, being fully alive to the gravity of the world situation, are always prepared to cooperate with other parties on an equal footing to ensure the safety of India as a whole. But so far the settlement of the final constitutional issues is concerned the union reiterates its firm faith that whole future, fate and salvation of the Musalmans be bound up with the scheme of independent states in regions of Muslim majority."

"The union reaffirm its fullest confidence in Mr. Jinnah and assures him that the Muslim youth are prepared to obey his commands and make every sacrifice to achieve the national goal of Musalmans."

A Muslim organisation 'Khaksar'⁶⁰ which was in the form of a movement engaged actively with the Muslim problems and sufferings. Government imposed ban on its movement and its popular leader Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi was put behind the bars. It greatly infuriated not only the Aligarh people but also the Muslims all over India. In a meeting of the MU Union held on 26th Nov. 1941 it was resolved 'this meeting of the MU Union issues with great concern and anxiety the report that Allama Mashriqi has been fasting since the Ramzan in the Vellore jail as a protest against the treatment meted out to him by the jail authorities and that his health has been declining. It expresses its profound sympathy with the Allama and urges on the government to show difference to the sentiment of the Muslim public all over India by releasing him immediately.'⁶¹

On 1st April 1942 union again met and urged the government the necessity to remove immediately the restrictions imposed on Allama and of lifting ban on the Khaksar movement. It also said that at a time of national crisis when political prisoners of all shades of opinion had been released it was very unfair to restrict movement of Allama Mashriqi.⁶²

Most of the Aligarh students influenced by Muslim League always welcomed any idea or call given by Mr. Jinnah who was generally called as 'Qaid-i-Azam'.⁶³ In 1942 Mr. Jinnah made an appeal to the Muslims for a fund of Muslim League, the university union quickly responded and charged Re. 1/- per head from every member of the

... was sent to Mr. Jinnah with the assurances that the members of the union would faithfully carryout his command.⁶⁴

Secularism

From the activites and resolutions of the union. it should not be presumed that the whole of AMU students were pro-Pakistani. But it must be kept in mind that the influence of Muslim League and its separatist policy was always challenged by the secular leaders of the Muslim community in AMU. Whenever any large meeting or gathering was convened, the lesson of secularism was always taught to the students. In the convocational address of 1st Jan. 1941 Sultan Ahmad addressed "there is no gainsaying the fact that racially and politically we (Hindu & Muslim) are all Indian, we breath in the same atmosphere and till the same land. We are inheritors of the same proud civilization and whatever we may privately think and aspire after, our destinies are linked together. Our political and social salvation can only lie in both Hindu and Muslim pooling their energies together for the reconstruction of a better India. However much you try there is no other road of salvation. Any other road will lead India to chaos, anarchy, bloodshed and perpetual subjection.....And I conjure you earnestly, all young men both Hindus and Muslims, to remember this hard, sane and incontrovertible fact when you enter a larger sphere of life."⁶⁵

These lessons of unity and secularism very much affected the youths and it bound them to work for India and Muslims. They carried their national work some times themselves or by joining with Aligarh city nationalists who were both Hindus and Muslims.⁶⁶

Revolutionary Activities

The Aligarh was also known for its revolutionary activities. In Aligarh city the nationalistic activities were mostly revolutinoary and the city worked as a workshop for making arms for revolutionary elements gererally known as '*Krantikari*'. Aligarh was the source of supplying bombs to the All India Revolutionary Organisation with headquarters at Delhi and generally bomb action was avoided in Aligarh itself for the fear of defection of the supply.⁶⁷ It all became possible due to the lock industry of Aligarh and Govt. Metal Working School Aligarh. The Engineering College workshop of Muslim University was also became helpful in bomb making process for the revolutionaries.⁶⁸ The group of revolutionaries of Aligarh mostly included a high class technician and electrician. They were of the good heart and brain and having zeal to do a lot for their country. Most famous among them were Krishna Lal Verma, Deo Datta, Panna Lal, Bhagwat Deo Mishra,

Satya Murti, Mahendra Pal Singh, Durga Prasad, Rajendra Kumar, Kailash Ram Singh of Harduaganj etc.⁶⁹

They were all belonged to the Aligarh city. Only Kishan Lal was the student of the Muslim University in the War Technician's Course. He used to bring some cast iron from the university workshop and also had a few friend in AMU who were engaged in his work but their active role was not very clear.⁷⁰

For the smooth workings, the revolutionaries formed themselves into three committees (1) Finance Committee (2) Secret Committee or Bomb Party (3) Propaganda Committee. The first committee was to get money for the party by fair or foul means such as robbery, decoit, cheating or securing voluntary financial help from the public. The chief function of the second committee was to arrange all possible anti-government and anti-British actions, influence Bank officials for private servants of government officers so that they might prove useful in party actions. The third one the Propaganda Committee was to enlist as many youth for the party as possible who should all be ready to sacrifice not only their lives but also that they possess for the party work.⁷¹

Most of the revolutionaries styled themselves with the name of revolutionaries and politicians of all India level e.g. Deo Datt was styled as Allama Mashriqi and Krishan Lal as Jinnah and other revolutionaries also styled like that.⁷²

These revolutionaries enlisted new members only after being fully satisfied with their courage and patriotic feelings. One of the methods was cutting a portion of the body and saying: "*Jaisa Main Ab Khun Baha Raha Hun Bharat Mata Ke Liye Waise Hi Bahata Rahunga*"⁷³

Aligarh revolutionary group was frustrated with the Cripps Mission and the frustration was shown by singing a Hindi poetry copied from the Daily Hindi 'Milap', Lahore of 25th Sept. 1942. The poem was entitled as "*Cripps Ke Chane*" and was something as follows:⁷⁴ "*Chana Zor Garam Chana Zor Garam Gandhi Main Laya Mazedar.....Charh Na Saka Gandhi Pe Rang*"

There was another Urdu poem by Josh Malihabadi which was being sung by the revolutionaries as:⁷⁵

*"Kis Zuban Se Kah Rahe Ho Ai Saudagaron,
Dahar Men Insaniat Ke Nam Ko Uncha Karo
Ek Kahani Waqt Likhega Naye Mazmun Ki,
Jiski Surkhi Ko Zarurat Hai Tumhare Khun Ki,*

As for Quit India Movement, the Aligarh revolutionaries actively participated.⁷⁶ They took responsibility for providing bombs to the militants of other cities also. Qayum Lohar of the Muslim University was also active in moulding the shells to prepare the bomb. Aruna

Asaf Ali came to Aligarh in the middle of Sept. 1942. She met the revolutionary elements and told that bomb should be made in plenty. She was pleased to note that the Aligarh revolutionaries were working with zeal for the country and was quite satisfied by the work done by them.⁷⁷

For the purpose of bomb making readymade iron and tin containers were purchased from Sufi Kabari, Abdul Majeed or Abdul Hameed motor mechanic. Motor brake drums were also purchased for the purpose and out of these bomb prepared with the help of Amir Baksh Lohar and Mullah Naimullah. All the bombs prepared in Aligarh were distributed to Delhi, Kanpur and Muzaffarpur.⁷⁸

When the repression was started by the government, the revolutionaries decided for a bomb action in Aligarh. Kishan Lal took a shell to the University Engineering College workshop and did the needful with the permission of Mr. Aziz turner instructor on the pretence that it was the work of Allanur an A.R.P. Mistri who was known to him. Deo Datta and Satya Murti filled the shell with explosive and watch was also fitted to serve as a time bomb.⁷⁹ At the reailway station near the post box the bomb was planted and it exploded when the Barielly Passenger had gone. Krishan Lal, Bhura Singh, Sheo Das and Ghanshyam went on to the university, a safest place for the shelter.⁸⁰

During this period the AMUSU was busy with the programme of the Muslim League and did not participate in the Quit India Movement lauched by the Congress. About this movement the Chancellor of the AMU Nizam III and the Viceroy felt satisfaction over the aloofness of the student. On 30th Nov. 1942 Nizam wrote to the Vice Chancellor Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:⁸¹

“As a Chancellor of the university, I feel, I must express my satisfaction of the good conduct and behaviour which the students of the said university have shown during the subversive movement caused by the “Congress” throughout the country. Not only this, but have come to know that His Excellency the Viceroy as Lort Rector of the said university has appreciated this very much. Under the circumstances I ask you to let the student know that I have written to you in this connection and say that I have every hope that they will continue to show good conduct in future as well, specially at a time when India is passing through troublous time and that preservance and many character are the chief necessary factors to combat the evil forces that are unfortunately rampant in the country. So it is all the more necessary that we should overcome them by our sagacity and prudence at all costs. I trust the students will listen to my advice given in their own interest.”

But it must not be forgotten that aloofness of the university union

and majority of the students of AMU regarding Quit India Movement was due to their involvement in the Pakistan Movement waged by Muslim League and not by any other reason or due to their loyalty to the British govt.

AMU and Demand for Pakistan

Since the very beginning Jinnah had special attachment with the students. When he entered the politics he realized that there are immense strength in the students and can properly be used at the time of political crisis. From the time of his political setback he began to visit AMU and other educational institutions. But his love and attachments with the students was even before the election of 1937. Its proof was that he had founded All India Muslim Students Federation in 1937 before the election at Lucknow on the pattern of All India Students Federation. Its provincial branches were opened in most of the provinces of India.⁸²

Jinnah had tremendous faith in Muslim youth and he succeeded in winning them to his side. They regarded Jinnah as equal to none. He sent messages to student motts and publications he addressed their gatherings especially at Aligarh which he visited almost every year, he also inaugurated and presided over student's conferences. At Aligarh he was their "Beau-ideal" during the decisive decade of 1937-47.

Most of the Aligarians joined the UP Muslim Students Federation and they actively propagated the Muslim League ideology through this federation. In 1944-45 Prof. A.B.A. Haleem President of the UPMFS sent deputations to different distts. in order to popularize the federation. It was aimed that by doing so they would form and reorganize the distt. units of the federation. The most important persons who carried the deputation were M/s Nazrul Hasan, Abdul Khair, Malik Hamid, Farooq etc. who visited Moradabad, Barreilly Saharanpur, Muzaffar Nagar etc.⁸³

The students helped to generate enthusiasm, galvanise the masses behind the League and its demand for Pakistan, for which the resolution had passed in the Lahore session of AIML on March, 22-24, 1940.⁸⁴

In order to mobilize the Muslim students, Jinnah provoked them through his speeches in Aligarh. On 10th March 1941 Jinnah addressed the Aligarh students ".....In England instead of democracy a few influential sections are ruling. When this system (Democracy) is not successful to a country where only one community for them, then in India not more but at least very different two communities are living, how this system can be successful. On the contrary promulgation of

this system would mean rule of majority over minority community and would enslave the later one. You have accepted this fact that the position of the Muslim is of minority and declared that Muslims are a separate nation and their national position should be accepted. You have told that the Pakistan is only solution of communal problems of India. That means only that where Muslims or Hindus are in majority, they should rule there independently..... You have said that Pakistan is not a new thing but it existed earlier and still exists and it will remain till resurrection. Of course it was being seized from us and now we are trying to get it. To get back is not so easy but we should have to continue our fight with full strength for it....”⁸⁵

The Muslim University branch of the Muslim League Working Committee drafted a comprehensive programme. The most important items were (1) enrolment of the 1000 members (2) literary centres (3) distribution and circulating libraries in different hostels (4) series of lecture on political problems (5) and group discussions and talks. The university branch of Muslim League was very much influential as most of the students actively and staff members formally took much interest in it. Almost all post holders of students union were active members of it and were ready for any sacrifice. They were true followers of Jinnah.⁸⁶ Mr. Nusrat Hasan on the occasion of his installation as Vice President of the Muslim University Students Union in Oct. 1941 opined about the Pakistan: “Pakistan is our creed and our politics is based upon it. The dream of united nationalism can not be realized in this country because the majority does not permit us to live a life of peace and comfort. Pakistan and Pakistan alone is the best solution of the problem”. Referring to the Muslim League he said “I am in a complete agreement with the programme of Muslim League. This is the platform which has given real political insight. This is the organization which has taught us to speak with one voice and which has given us strength and solidarity. My victory is the victory of the Muslim League. My success represent the success of the Muslim League. Muslim League is the source of my strength and encouragement”. He also cleared “The Muslim University Students Union is not working a debating society, it is a mirror reflecting the thought and sentiments of the Musalmans of India”. He also declared “Musalmans are a living nation and will never allow the sinister design of their antagonists to be realized.”⁸⁷

Again, Mr. Jinnah arrived in Aligarh on 1st Nov. 1941. The students gave an enthusiastic reception at the railway station and hailed him with slogans, ‘Quaid-Azam Zindabad’, ‘Muslim League Zindabad’, ‘Pakistan Zindabad’. This time he came here in order to attend the Aligarh Muslim League Conference. He gave a stirring address to the

university union on 2nd November 1941. Other important Muslim League leaders who were present were Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan Mr.H.S.Suhrawardy, Qazi Isa Khan and Maulana Hasrat Mohani.⁸⁸ In the honour of Mr. Jinnah a poem was presented to him on 2nd Nov 1941, by a student Ahmad Mohiuddin.⁸⁹

Giving a survey to the present political situation Mr. Jinnah said that India's politics could be divided into two parts-the present and the future. As for future he said that the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's govt. made a declaration of 8th August 1940 which was simplified by Mr. Amery on the 15th August 1940, to effect that no future constitution of India would be framed without the consent and approval of the major elements in India and that it could only be adopted when there was an agreement between the principal parties in India. Regarding the present Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League was willing as far back as Nov. 1939 to help the British govt. in the successful prosecution of the war. "We had realised that there was a great danger to India", he continued "It was in our own interest that we should have a share and power to defend our homes and hearths, and therefore within the framework of the present constitution we must be ready and willing to cooperate with the British govt. with authority and power both at the center and the provinces. The August declaration of the Viceroy recognised that principle but when that principle came to be translated into action it was completely frustrated. The terms of the offer were such that no self respecting party could agree to it. The Muslim League therefore rejected the offer also.

Referring to the independent and sovereign Muslim state Mr. Jinnah said "if the British govt. do not make it clear as to what their intentions are, regarding Muslim States and also that they have no design on their sovereignty and independence. It would be very difficult to control Muslim India any more. Some of the Hindu leaders have been suggesting that Pakistan is more a danger to the British govt. than to the Hindu and therefore the only way to fight this danger is to disrupt existing independent Muslim states. So that the Hindus could rule over the whole of India easily, I say that it is foolish."

Referring to Gandhiji's statement hinting at civil war, Mr. Jinnah said that if it comes it would come as a result of Congress policy of repression and domination over Muslim India. Mr. Jinnah declared "Muslim India is demanding only one fourth of India leaving the rest to the Hindus. While the Congress wants to have whole of this vast sub-continent for the Hindus. If therefore India is plunged into civil war it would only be on account of the Congress and nobody else."

Mr. Jinnah refuted the allegation's of Mr. Munshi in his speech at Lahore that non-Muslims in Pakistan would be treated as

untouchables. Jinnah said "let me tell Mr Munshi that untouchability is only known to his philosophy. Pakistan scheme is based on what Islam has taught us. Islam stands for equality of manhood. It stands for justice and fair play, pay generosity to non-Muslims who are like brothers to us and would be the citizens of the state."⁹⁰

Muslim University Union expressed its deep sense of loyalty to the cause and the aim of the AIML and its full faith in Mr. Jinnah.⁹¹

On 3rd Nov. Mr. Jinnah also addressed the Muslim University's Day Scholars Union and said that he did not appreciate a separate union for day scholars in one and the same university. They should learn to live and work on one platform unitedly and for that purpose it would be better that they should merge themselves into one university union.⁹²

Mr. Jinnah established himself on such a position that no one could reach upto that point. He was not only cherished by the Aligarh students but also by the staff and higher authorities of the university. On Dec. 25, 1943 the birthday of Mr. Jinnah was celebrated in the university with great enthusiasm and zeal by both the students and the staff members. The PVC of the university Prof. Haleem and VC Sir. Ziauddin paid special tribute to Mr. Jinnah's capacity to keep himself above all temptations which was a rare quality found even in the foremost Indian leaders. Sir Ziauddin fervently prayed and wished long life and prosperity for Mr. Jinnah.⁹³

In 1944 on 25th of December also the birthday of Mr. Jinnah again was celebrated with great pomp and show. Dr. Ziauddin VC of AMU paid glowing tributes to Mr. Jinnah's character, integrity and achievements as a leader. On a quarry by a British officer why Mr. Jinnah was so popular among the Muslims Dr. Ziauddin replied "at a time when British govt. had handed over all the Muslims of India to the Hindu Congress to treat them the way they liked. It was Mr. Jinnah who had the courage to stand up in defence of the Muslims and to save them from destruction."⁹⁴

Mr. Mohd. Ali. Khan Secretary of the AMU Union has sent following telegram to Mr. Jinnah- "Students of the Muslim University rejoice and express their heartiest greetings on your 68th birthday and pray Allah for your long and happy life. May Muslim India achieve its cherished ideal of Pakistan under your inspiring leadership."⁹⁵

According to the Secretary 'Bachcha (Child) Muslim League' a meeting of the Aligarh Muslim League was also held under the Presidentship of Fashiuddin Ahmad. He said "Qaid-i-Azam has made us a nation and has given us a definite goal and platform and it is upto us to carry this teaching successfully for the attainment of Pakistan."⁹⁶

When Jinnah was being attacked by some anti social elements

Aligarh expressed its sense of indignation and abhorrence to the attackers and felt profound relief at his providential escape. The students and the staff held a meeting and passed a resolution about it and prayed for his speedy recovery from the injuries sustained and complete restorations to health, strength and vigour. The same resolutions were passed by Muslim University Union, MU Muslim League, MU Executive Council and Teacher's Training College.⁹⁷

Along with their strong faith in Mr. Jinnah, most of the Aligarh students were being taught the only pet lesson of Pakistan. They did not spare even the Viceroy for his reference to the geographical unity of India, addressed to the Central Legislature. The Muslim University Union held a meeting and passed a resolution of strong protest regarding this. "It is subcontinent in which there is found a great diversity of relief climate, nature, vegetation, economic production and the people. It consists of four clearly marked regions-

- (1) Indus Basin
- (2) Upper Gangetic Basin
- (3) Lower Gangetic Basin
- (4) Deccan Plateau

These regions are separate entities not only from the point of geography but also from the point of view of religion, ethnography, culture, historical traditions and economic conditions.....it will not be mere geography which will determine the formation of Pakistan but also the will of the hundred millions of Musalmans of India. This speech of the Viceroy is a challenge to a Muslim youth and all the lovers of India's independence."

"The Muslim students must play an important part not only for a new awakening to the Muslim masses but also in organising and consolidating their strength for securing their just rights....."⁹⁸

The year of 1944 was the year of progress in the history of University Muslim League. In order to popularise Muslim League, the moving libraries were set up in all boarding houses so as to enable students to understand about Pakistan and its contortions. This work became possible due to the free donation of 400 books by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan and by means of UP Muslim League. Different pamphlets were also published on the topic of present situations. A debating contest was also convened about Pakistan and other related topics. Due to these efforts about 45 National Guards went to attend the Karachi session of the AIML.⁹⁹

The Aligarh university union not only did its level best for the demand of Pakistan but also mobilized the newcomer students in favour of it. For that purpose a general conference was convened in reception of fresher students on 4th August 1945, by Vice President

of the union Kunwar Ishrat Ali Khan. He told them that Muslim League was the only representative party of Indian Muslims and the union was following its policy. He also said that in the Congress besides some misguided senseless Muslims no other Muslims were there.¹⁰⁰

In Aligarh, whenever there was a union meeting, fullest confidence, faith and loyalty was expressed in Mr. Jinnah and appreciated him for his sagacity, statesmanship and sincerity for the cause of Musalmans and Muslim India. Whatever policy Mr. Jinnah adopted, the university union approved it by passing a resolution in its favour. On August 6, 1945 Kunwar Ishrat Ali Khan the Vice President of the union convened a meeting in which he endorsed the refusal of the All India Muslim League to accept the Wavell Plan. He argued that it did not guarantee the establishment of Pakistan as envisaged in the Lahore resolution of AIML and failed to recognise the first claim of the AIML to represent all the hundred million Muslims of India. He further said that it failed to give the right to nominate all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council of the Viceroy. This meeting also resolved that each member of the union should contribute Re. 1/- in the "Muslim League Election Fund" in response to the appeal made by Mr. Jinnah.¹⁰¹

After a few days on 11th August 1945, Mr. Aeby, Secretary of the American Commissioner in India visited Aligarh. The university union convened a welcome meeting for him. Mr. Ishrat Ali Khan said in the meeting that in India two communities Hindu and Muslim are residing and both are different from each other in all respects. He cleared the point "we, as being a separate community demand a separate country. We consider Qaid-i-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah as our leader and in his guidance we shall have Pakistan."¹⁰²

On 22nd September 1945 Liaqat Ali came to Aligarh in order to prepare the students for the campaigning of elections of Central Legislator. He told the students "there comes time in the life of a nation when every other activity has to be subordinated to that big issue of life and death to the Muslims. I want the Muslim students.....to play their part boldly and honourably in the issue which would mean either emancipation or perpetual domination..... what use would be of a degree if the future is dark and disappointing. Hence the students should come out of their classrooms and support the Muslim League even at the cost of the one academic year."¹⁰³

Aligarh students responded to the call and they spread all over the country, especially northern India in order to campaign for the forthcoming elections. Fearing by the respond of Aligarh students Congress issued some false propaganda against AMU. Regarding that propaganda university union appealed to the government and public

of the union Kunwar Ishrat Ali Khan. He told them that Muslim League was the only representative party of Indian Muslims and the union was following its policy. He also said that in the Congress besides some misguided senseless Muslims no other Muslims were there.¹⁰⁰

In Aligarh, whenever there was a union meeting, fullest confidence, faith and loyalty was expressed in Mr. Jinnah and appreciated him for his sagacity, statesmanship and sincerity for the cause of Musalmans and Muslim India. Whatever policy Mr. Jinnah adopted, the university union approved it by passing a resolution in its favour. On August 6, 1945 Kunwar Ishrat Ali Khan the Vice President of the union convened a meeting in which he endorsed the refusal of the All India Muslim League to accept the Wavell Plan. He argued that it did not guarantee the establishment of Pakistan as envisaged in the Lahore resolution of AIML and failed to recognise the first claim of the AIML to represent all the hundred million Muslims of India. He further said that it failed to give the right to nominate all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council of the Viceroy. This meeting also resolved that each member of the union should contribute Re. 1/- in the "Muslim League Election Fund" in response to the appeal made by Mr. Jinnah.¹⁰¹

After a few days on 11th August 1945, Mr. Aeby, Secretary of the American Commissioner in India visited Aligarh. The university union convened a welcome meeting for him. Kr Ishrat Ali Khan said in the meeting that in India two communities Hindu and Muslim are residing and both are different from each other in all respects. He cleared the point "we, as being a separate community demand a separate country. We consider Qaid-i-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah as our leader and in his guidance we shall have Pakistan."¹⁰²

On 22nd September 1945 Liaqat Ali came to Aligarh in order to perapre the students for the campaigning of elections of Central Legislator. He told the students "there comes time in the life of a nation when every other activity has to be subordinated to that big issue of life and death to the Muslims. I want the Muslim students.....to play their part boldly and honourably in the issue which would mean either emancipation or perpetual domination..... what use would be of a degree if the future is dark and disappointing. Hence the students should come out of their classrooms and support the Muslim League even at the cost of the one academic year."¹⁰³

Aligarh students responded to the call and they spread all over the country, especially northern India in order to compaign for the forthcoming elections. Fearing by the respond of Aligarh students Congress issued some false propaganda against AMU. Regarding that propaganda university union appealed to the government and public

Command and the all India council, to declare once for all that their could never be the slightest compromise on Muslim nation's right of self determination and assured them to the complete readiness of the MU students for any struggle that would be launched to defeat this Anglo-Brahmin 'Big Business' conspiracy and to achieve Muslims long cherished goal of Pakistan. The AMU Students Union further demanded from the British govt. that separate sovereign assemblies of Hindustan and Pakistan be immediately set up and that they should transfer the power to these Constituent Assemblies and they also should quit India with bag and baggage, leaving them to come to any agreement about the formation of the any all India centre. The Union warned the representatives of the alien rule that any attempt to impose a constitution which was not duly approved by the Muslim League, would be resisted by all means.¹⁰⁷

When the discussion about partition plan was going on between the Viceroy Lord Mountbatten and Indian leaders, the Aligarh students could not keep themselves quiet and sent a telegram to the Viceroy and expressed their feelings regarding the division of the Punjab and Bengal. They told the Viceroy "we students of Aligarh Muslim University want to impress upon your most Exalted Excellency by urgent need of realizing that the division of the Punjab and Bengal is calculated to prove utterly detrimental to the cause not only of Muslim League but is bound to have repercussions on Indian politics too. We are totally against it and we are confident that you shall graciously listen to the voice of the student community which is infact the voice of the Muslim community."¹⁰⁸

No doubt the students of Aligarh and rather Aligarh intelligentsia as a whole vehemently supported the cause of Pakistan by all means. But they also knew the fact that whenever the division would be materialized they would remain in India and in India alone because of the geographical position of Aligarh. Then the question arose why they had supported Jinnah with so much curiosity? It was clear from the Muslim League demands to the Cabinet Mission Plan for grouping of the provinces that it did not have in its mind the complete separation of Pakistan from India. The speeches of Mr. Jinnah and his dialogues with the other political leaders and the Viceroy during 1946-1947 also proved the fact.

Aligarh students also thought that there would be an independent Pakistan within India with common centre of India and Pakistan.

It can not be concluded that the Aligarh was nothing but a platform of Muslim League and separatistie activities because there was always a section of students opposing Muslim League though in minority. Their feelings and activities had been very widely discussed in

preceding sections of this chapter.

Reaction of Partition in AMU

Formation of Interim Government

On March 24, 1946 three members of the British Cabinet-Secretary of State Pathic Lawrence, Cripps and Alexander carried on together with Wavell a plan on two issues of an Interim government and principles and procedure of framing a new constitution giving India the freedom. The Cabinet Mission was convinced that Pakistan was not viable and that the minority's autonomy must some how be safeguarded within the framework of a united India. For the constitution making, the Indian provinces were grouped into three sections. A comprising Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C.P. and Orissa, B consisting of Punjab, NWFP and Sindh and C of Bengal and Assam which meet separately to decide on group constitutions. It was also decided that there wold be a common centre controlling defence, foreign affairs and communications.¹⁰⁹

Jinnah wanted that any agreement either for the formation of Interim govt. or partition in the Constituent Assembly should be based on Hindu and Muslim parity. But his proposal of parity was rejected by the Congress. The rejection of the Hindu-Muslim parity in political agreements by the Congress frustrated the Muslim League and finally it strengthened its demand for Pakistan. Even many Muslim organizations which were considered sister organisation of the Congress also felt malign by the Congress policy. Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Secretary All India Ahrar Committee said "Congress has rejected the Congress-Muslim League parity or parity between Hindus and Muslim and has thus torpedoed the hopes of framing on Interim govt. or placing the country on the road of freedom. Before the nationalist Muslim groups met the Cabinet Mission, the nationalist formulae containing the Hindu-Muslim parity in the Interim govt. as well as in the future central Govt. was known to and approved by responsible Congress leaders. But after geting Pakistan rejected by the Cabinet Mission they have now decided to oppose Hindu-Muslim parity tooth and nail. They thus compelled the all nationalist Muslims to revise their stand in respect of the future constitution of India and thus marred the chances of success of any negotiations."¹¹⁰

Aligarh Muslims also advocated the idea of parity in the formation of Interim govt. and other political agreements. Sir Ziauddin the VC of AMU suggested that the portfolios for the Interim govt. should be grouped together and one from each group should go to the Muslim League and the other to the Congress and other minorities. He

suggested the following panel groups: Finance and Communications, Food and Defence; Commerce and Supply; Home and Communications, Food and Agriculture, Labour and Education, Miscellaneous and Health, Industry and PWD.¹¹¹

Mr. Arthur Moore expressed his feelings over Congress and said “The Congress has been thinking too much about its own prestige and too little about India, over and over again it has said it would accept any Indian govt. for the sake of freedom. Now it has the chance of not only of freedom but of unity, because the Muslim League, realising that in the atomic age the sovereign state is a dead conception, has wisely dropped its claim for sovereign state and wants a Pakistan within a Federal India” He further said “the natural ultimate guarantee for a race or a religion, namely to have somewhere a cultural homeland of its own. The Congress should rejoice in this acceptance of federation and offer to serve. They have brilliant men whom the country needs.....Let Mr. Jinnah be asked to form a purely Indian govt. and to choose his own colleagues. His first thought will be to get as many Congress men as he can to cooperate with him. Indian rancor is sometimes fierce but rarely deep. Jinnah and Jawaharlal teamed together would soon recognise each others qualities and bless each others work. Youth of India are today disappointed. The hungry sheep look and it is high time that they were led.”¹¹²

Jinnah wanted to cooperate Congress on his own terms. By nature he was a proudyman who never considered the Congress leaders as good politicians. He denoted Jawahar Lal Nehru as a “literary figure” who should have been an English Professor, not politician. To Mr. Gandhi, Jinnah said “a cunning fox” “ a Hindu revivalist.”¹¹³ Due to his superiority complex Jinnah was not ready to cooperate on forming the Interim govt. under Nehru or any other Congressman. He should have been ready to drop the idea of Pakistan if he had been given the offer of forming the government. But the Congressmen were not ready for that. They were not even ready to get cooperation of Muslim League on equal terms.

The Cabinet Mission had rejected the Pakistan move but Jinnah thought it a green signal for grouping of Indian states on communal basis. The election of Constituent Assembly were held in July 1946 and the following result appeared.¹¹⁴

Section A : Madras, Bombay, Orissa, U.P., Bihar, Coorg Delhi, Ajmer, Marwar.

Congress	164 seat
Muslim League	19 "
Independent	7 "

Section B: Punjab, NWFP, Sind, Baluchistan

Congress	9 seats
Muslim League	19 "
Unionist	3 "
Independent	1 "
Sikh	4 " (vacant)

(Sikh seats were vacant due to their anti-Cabinet Mission Movement)
Section : C Bengal, Assam

Congress	32 seats
Muslim League	35 "
Communist	1 "
Scheduled Caste Federation	1 "
Krishak Praja Party	1 "

But later on Muslim League rejected the plan due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British government on the other.¹¹⁵

The Muslim University Union as it was very much concerned with the Muslim League held a meeting on March 23, 1946 and warned the Cabinet Mission that any attempt at jilting the Musalmans and bypassing the Muslim League would be resisted with force and that any attempt at persuading the Muslims to compromise was pre-deemed.¹¹⁶

The Council of the Muslim League by rejecting the Cabinet Mission proposal called the Muslim community to join for Direct Action from 16th August to achieve Pakistan.¹¹⁷

The 16th August 1946 may be marked as the 'Black Day' in the history as it followed a communal riots on an unprecedented scale, starting with Calcutta, touching Bombay, spreading Noakhali in east Bengal, Bihar, Garhmukteshwar in UP and Punjab. Murder was primary objective in the riots, not as often earlier communal outbreaks demolition of temples or mosques, rape, or attacks on the property of relatively privileged groups belonging to the opposite community. More Muslims died than the Hindus, this fact was not only hinted by Wavell but also Patel.¹¹⁸

After the election of 1946 the Congress tried its best to reach an agreement with the Muslim League in the formation of the cabinet. But it could not become successful and on 2nd Sept. 1946 the Congress formed the cabinet of its own. The following members were included in the cabinet-Jawahar Lal Nehru, Vallabh Bhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Asaf Ali, C.Rajgopalachari, Sarat Chandra Bose, John Mathai, Baldeo Singh, Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Jagjivan Ram, Ali Zaheer and C.H. Bhabha.¹¹⁹

The Muslim League declared this day as the day of mourning and Jinnah advised to display black flags. But by the efforts of prominent leaders and Viceroy, Jinnah agreed to nominate five persons to the

Interim govt. These were Liaqat Ali Khan, I.I. Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogindra Nath Mandal. By this Muslim League entered the Interim govt. but it was without commitment to join the Constituent Assembly.¹²⁰

The portfolio of the Interim govt. were as follows : ¹²¹

Jawahr Lal Nehru	P.M., External Affairs,
Vallabh Bahi Patel	Home, Information & Broscasting
Baldeo Singh	Defence
Jonh Mathai	Industries and Supplies]
C.Rajgopalchari	Education
C.H.Bhabha	Works, Mines and power
Rajendra Prasad	Food and Agriculture
M.Asaf Ali	Railway
Jagjivan Ram	Labour
Liaqat Ali	Finance
I.I. Chundrigar	Commerce
Abdur Rab Nishter	Communications
Ghazanfar Ali Khan	Health
Jogindra Nath Mandal	Law

On joining the government by Muslim League, Aligarh felt pleased and the Muslim University Union convened a meeting on 1st Nov. 1946 in which it congratulated the working committee of the All India Muslim League on their decision. According to the union, Muslim League worked all the vain and monstrous design of the Congress to perpetuate the Hindu supremacy over this entire subcontinent.¹²²

But except Liaqat Ali Khan all the League nominees were second rate politician. It shows that 'the power' and not 'the responsibility' was the main objective. League members frequently questioned the actions taken by the Congress members and refused to attend the informal meetings. Muslim League had entered the cabinet with prime object of preventing the Congress from consolidating its position to the detriment of League's interest. According to Mr. Jinnah the Interim govt. was a continuation of civil war by other means.¹²³ He further said that Muslim League could not take orders either from Jinnah or from the Congress as long as the policy of the Congress was to torpedo the demand of Pakistan.¹²⁴ Liaqat Ali said that he was in the Interim govt. to get a foot hold to fight for his long cherished goal of Pakistan.¹²⁵

Communal Riots and Repression

Communal riots became a general feature and thousands of people were killed and their property was looted and burnt. Khaliquzzaman said that in Aligarh there was some trouble and two ministers were

sent to prepare a report. But while Muslim shops and houses were burnt in Kasgunj and the mosque was set on fire, not even one minister was sent there. He attacked the Congress by saying that this time the Congress minister came into power with more murderous intentions than in 1937.¹²⁶

In the communal riots which started in Aligarh on 29th March, 1946 the total loss estimated was Rs. 50 lakhs. It was alleged that posters inciting students for violence against Hindus had been discovered inside AMU compound and one of these posters came into possession of Distt. Magistrate.¹²⁷ But it was merely an allegation by Mr. L.N. Mathur, a local lawyer and senior Vice Charimaan, Municipal Board, Aligarh. He not only charged the AMU students but also attacked local officials particularly the DM, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan the city DSP and Mr. Abdul Jabbar the City Kotwal, before the enquiry conducted by the Commissioner and the DIG. Nawabzada Mushtaq Hasan Khan, member of the AMU Court stated that the enquiry committee was not properly represented by the Musalmans but Hindus took active part in it under the leadership of Mr. Mathur. He also claimed that another minister who did not even come in to Aligarh gave objectionable statement. He further said that as expected all of them threw the whole blame on the students of AMU.¹²⁸

In the U.P. Assembly, discussions were held regarding Aligarh riots and Muslim leaders like Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman and Prof. ABA Haleem asked a number of supplementaries on the conduct of investigation at Aligarh after the riot.¹²⁹

Over these situations AMU expressed its heartfelt sympathy with the innocent Muslim victims who had suffered a lot. According to the union they suffered at the hands of cruel Hindu aggressors in defending their religion, life, honour and property. M.U. Union stated about Bihar that it was controlled by the caste Hindu Congress, the provincial Congress government and the dummy Governor of Bihar. They were solely responsible for the terrible massacre because it was done according to a pre-planned scheme with the deliberate negligence and connivance of the provincial authorities. The union strongly urged upon the central govt. which had terribly failed so far to take strong measures immediately to prevent this lawlessness which might spread to other provinces as well and for which they alone would be entirely responsible.¹³⁰

Aligarh also condemned the Unionist-Congress coalition govt. of Punjab where the Muslim National Guard Organisation was declared unlawful for which Muslim League leaders courted arrest. In the meeting of the MU Union, held on 25th January, 1947 they condemned the Burhanpur officials and of the Congress ministry in C.P. The

union called their attitude as communal and also charged that it was directly responsible for creating communal tension in that town on 29th Dec. 1946. The C.P. government allowed the Sikhs to take out a procession with naked swords in their hands on a disputed route which created panic. The union also alleged the government for imposition of a punitive force and the imposition of the Goonda Act. It demanded to withdraw the Act. The union also demanded immediate transfer of the D.S.P. and S.D.O. from Burhanpur.¹³¹

On 2nd March 1947, university union paid great tribute and homage to the martyrs of the Khaksar Party, describing them as brave and selfless Mujahids of the Punjab. They did it not only for the Muslims but for the peace loving members of all communities.¹³²

The Aligarh students never appreciated the Congress policies and suspected the Congress government for engaging it with anti-Muslim activities. Earlier on 3rd May 1946, the Aligarh union charged the Congress govt. in Assam for starting the Muslim victimization campaign.¹³³ The union meeting further charged "the ruthless and inhuman eviction of the settlers simply because they happen to be Muslim and the brutal annihilation of their houses and standing crops when the serious food shortage is in the country...." That meeting demanded that all orders of eviction passed by the present Congress govt. be immediately cancelled and those cultivators be allowed settlements of the lands under their cultivation. The union further called government of India and the government of Assam to take immediate steps to withdraw the invidious and illegal line system prevailing in Assam. The AMU Students Union also decided to raise a fund in response to the appeal made by the Assam Muslim League to help the poor emigrants who were being evicted by the Congress regime. The union fixed that each member of the union would contribute Re. 1/- towards this fund and this contribution would be realised through the Provost Office.¹³⁴

The Aligarh students never criticised the Muslim League for its shirking of responsibilities and creating administrative problems to run the Congress govt. peacefully. Although the Muslim League was in power it did not show any responsibility. It was more devoted to its main aim of achieving Pakistan. Congress also, being frustrated with the activities of the League, never tried to win the hearts of the Muslims. Definitely the bone of contention was the separatistic activities of the Muslim League and its demand for Pakistan.

Partition of India

In the beginning Muslim League was ready to have a region (Pakistan) within India with some administrative autonomy but when

League found it impossible then it started anti-national activities and repeated their demand for Pakistan with more regions. Both Congress and Muslim League felt it impossible to live together with such different ideologies. On the one hand Mr. Jinnah wanted more power which was not in proportion with the Muslim population in India. On the other hand Congress was not ready to work under a minority party like the Muslim League. Both were power hungry and none of them was ready of sacrifice for the cause of the unity of India. Actually the situation and political development further widened the gap between Hindus and Muslims and this rift became one of the major causes of division of the country into two nations India and Pakistan.

Many schemes were formulated for partition of India. Prof. Syed Zafrul Hasan and Prof. Moahammad Afzal Husain Qadri of Aligarh also proposed a plan. It was area and population wise plan to divide India into three wholly independent and sovereign states alongwith independent state of Hyderabad as follows:¹³⁵

- (i) Pakistan-Comprising of Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, Baluchistan and the State of Kahsmir and Jammu, Mandi, Chamba, Sakit, Sumin, Kapurthala, Maler Kotla, Chitra, Dir, Kalat, Loharu, Bilaspur, Simla-Hill States, Bahawalpur etc.

Populatons	39274244
Muslims	23697538
	60%
- (ii) Bengal (Excluding Howrah and Midnapur Distt.) Purnea Distt. (Bihar), Sylhet Division (Assam)

Population	52579232
Muslims	301118184
	57%
- (iii) Hindustan-Comprising the rest of India and Indian states (excluding Hyderabad, Pakistan, Bengal and the states included therein.)
- (iv) Hyderabad-Comprising Hyderabad, Berar and Karnataka (Madras & Orissa)

Population	29065098
Muslims	2144010
	7.5%
- (v) Delhi Province-including Delhi, Meerut Division, Rohilkhand Division and the Distt. of Aligarh (Agra Division)

Population	12660000
Muslims	3520000
	28%
- (vi) Malabar Province-Consisting of Malabar and adjoining area i.e. Malabar and South Kanara.

Population	4900000
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Aforesaid three states of Pakistan, Bengal and Hindustan should enter into an offensive and defensive alliance on the following basis :

- (i) Mutual recognition and reciprocity.
- (ii) Pakistan and Bengal be recognized as the homeland of Muslims and Hindustan as the homeland of Hindus, to which they can migrate respectively, if and when they want to do so.
- (iii) In Hindustan the Muslims are to be recognized as a nation in minority and part of a larger nation inhabiting Pakistan and Bengal.
- (iv) The Muslims in minority in Hindustan and non-Muslim minority in Pakistan and Bengal will have (a) representation according to population, and (b) separate electorate and representation at every stage, together with effective safeguards by all the three states. Separate representation in proportion to population may be granted to all considerable minorities in the three states e.g. Sikh non-cast Hindu etc.
- (v) An accredited Muslim political organization will be the sole official representative body of the Muslims in Hindustan.

Each of the three independent states of Pakistan, Hindustan and Bengal will have separate treaties of alliance with great Britain and each with separate crown representative if any. They will have a joint court of arbitration to settle any dispute that may arise between themselves or between them and the crown. Hyderabad commanded an exclusive position. It was recognized as an ally by the British govt. In truth it was a sovereign state by treaties. Berar and Karnataka were taken from it by the British for administrative reasons and so they must be restored. Hyderabad with its restored territories should be recognized expressly as a sovereign state, at least as sovereign as Nepal. With Karnataka restored it will have sea coast and will naturally become southern wing of Muslim India.”

The movement for separation of India and creation of Pakistan made the situation from bad to worse. Under this worsened situation the Congress had to accept the division of Punjab and also Bengal if necessary.¹³⁶

Lord Mountbatten assumed the office of Governor General on 24th March 1947. He was deeply moved by the rapid deterioration in communal relations as he was eager to solve the communal problems without any delay. He held talks with important leaders of all political parties. He knew the Gandhiji's opinion about the partition of India. Gandhiji said that India would be divided over his dead body. So long

as he was alive, he would never agree to the partition of India. Then Mountbatten assured Gandhiji that dividing India would be last solution for him. Gandhiji had one alternative to avoid partition, that was to give Mr. Jinnah the whole of India instead of just the part he wanted. He proposed that to let Mr. Jinnah form the government. Mountbatten asked him whether his own Congress party would accept his plan. Gandhiji replied that the Congress wanted above all to avoid partition, they would do anything to prevent it.¹³⁷

But the pupils of Gandhiji who once blindly obeyed him could hardly agree this point. They kept silent over this matter. Gandhiji unsuccessfully urged his colleagues to accept his plan to hold India together. The meeting of Congress High Command held in the evening of 1st May, 1947 in which Gandhiji's plan was not accepted. He said a friend later "they (Congressmen) call me Mahatma but I tell you I am not even treated by them as a sweeper."¹³⁸

Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel and all the other Congressmen felt that partition was the only way to save the country. Sardar Patel was prepared to accept partition even before Mountbatten's arrival. He argued that Jinnah should be given his state but it would not survive anyway, within five years the Muslim League would be knocking at the door begging for India's reunification. Pt. Nehru too stood out against the man he had followed so far.¹³⁹

Mountbatten also held talks with Muslim League leader Mr. Jinnah. During the first fortnight of April 1947 he held many talks with him.¹⁴⁰ He also said that India has never been a true nation, it only looks that way on the map. He declared that "The cows, I want to eat, the Hindus stops me from killing. Every time a Hindu shakes hands with me, he has to go wash his hands. The only thing the Muslims has in common with the Hindus is slavery to the British."¹⁴¹

After having failed, in compromising between Congress and Muslim League, Mountbatten also felt that partition of India was the only solution of the present political crisis. On 18th May Mountbatten proceeded to London to seek the advice of the British cabinet and after his return prepared a plan which came to be known as Mountbatten Plan of 3rd June 1947. He announced that the British government has accepted the principle of partition which would be effective from 15th August 1947.

Both Congress and Muslim League accepted the plan but Sikhs were dissatisfied with this plan. Khan Abdul Gahaffar Khan also showed his disagreement by putting forward the demand for independent Pakhtoonistan.¹⁴²

The Boundary Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliff decided that West Bengal and East Punjab would go to India

and West Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan would be part of Pakistan. The distt. of Sylhet also joined Pakistan.¹⁴³ On 15th August 1947 India became independent with a blot of partition on it.

It has been controversy why the Congress accepted the plan of partition and who was responsible for the partition, Jinnah or Jawahar Lal Nehru ?

No doubt Mr. Jinnah worked hard for a separate homeland, Pakistan for the Muslims. But as the historical events witness it was the Congress which facilitated his way for his movement since 1937. Nehru, Patel and Gandhiji in 1947 accepted the long term failure of the Congress to draw in the Muslim masses to the national movement and stem the surging wave of Muslim communalism.¹⁴⁴ Till the 1946 the Congress leaders were bitterly against the partition. In 1946 when Jawahar Lal Nehru nad Dr. Syed Mahmood were in Ahmadabad jail, Syed Mahmood told Jawahar Lal that if they were compelled to accept partition they would not agree to the partition of Punjab and Bengal. Then Jawahar Lal Nehru got enraged and said "how this idea came to your mind ? I am bitterly against partition. The partition can exist only on our bones."¹⁴⁵

If Nehru was not ready even to listen the word 'partition' then what forces compelled him to accept it? No doubt Jinnah used all possible tools of the Muslim society for the propaganda of Pakistan but he was quit sure that it was not an easy job. If we see the historical background we can conclude that Jinnah created such a situation in order to get heavy share in the power game or wanted to hold the supreme leadership of Indian Union over and above Gandhiji and Nehru. He frequently addressed Gandhiji as Mr.Gandhi not with Mahatama or any other title, while Gandhiji after 1944-45, always addressed Jinnah as 'Qaid-i-Azam'. To a great extent Nehru and Patel easily accepted the partition plan under the threat of 'Direct Action' of Muslim League and many communal riots. Jinnah alone should not be blamed for partition. He has love for his homeland India. When India was partitioned and Jinnah was about to leave India, he murmured to his A.D.C. Syed Ahsan "I suppose this is the last time I shall be looking at Delhi."¹⁴⁶ He spent the entire flight silently absent mindedly lost in the newspapers. Not even the slightest trace of emotion appeared on his face as he read those laudatory accounts of his achievements. Not once during his entire trip did he speak or reveal even the slightest hint of his feeling, the meagrest indication of what this flight to a realized dream meant to him.¹⁴⁷ When he reached Karachi he whispered harshly to Syed Ahsan, "Do you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime."¹⁴⁸

These words and feeling of Jinnah show that he had great love

for India and wanted only power share and popularity by threatening the Congress through the weapon of Pakistan. His feelings were clearly understood by Gandhiji and Gandhiji persuaded the other Congressmen to let Jinnah form the government. But his effort was unsuccessful. When the partition was accepted by the Congress leaders, Gandhi commented that the leaders of the Congress were yearning for power. Jawahar Lal Nehru confessed, "Well, I suppose it was a compulsion of events .A large India would have constant troubles, constant disintegrating pulls.....And so we accepted." He further said, "Let us built up strong India.....The truth is that we were tired men.....We saw the fire burning in Punjab and heared every day of the killings. The plan for partition offered a way out and we took it."¹⁴⁹

Nehru wrote to Wavell on 22nd August 1946: "We are not going to shake hands with murderer or allow it to determine the country's policy."¹⁵⁰ Gandhiji was unhappy with Nehru, Patel etc . but was helpless to do anything. His inaction has been explained in terms of his forced isolation from the Congress decision making council and his succumbed to the lust for power, as they had followed him faithfully for many years, at a great personal sacrifice.¹⁵¹

Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre have opined that if the secret of illness of Mr. Jinnah were known to Mountbatten, Nehru and Gandhiji, the division of India might have been avoided. Tuberculosis had invaded the lungs of Mr. Jinnah. The damage of lungs was so extensive that he had barely one or two years to live. His treatment was going on under a Bombay physician Dr. J.A.L. Patel. According to him Jinnah had been living for the past decade on "will power, whiskey and cigarette". The secret of illness were only known to his doctor and his sister Fatima. Liaqat Ali Khan was aware of his illness in the last six months of his life. Even his daughter Wadia could come to know of her father's illness only after his death.¹⁵²

Jinnah knew that if the Congressmen came to know that he was dying, their whole political outlook would change. They might try to wait for the moment of his going in to the grave. Dr. Patel suggested him bed rest. But Jinnah told Dr. Patel that there was no question of abandoning his life's crusade for a sanatorium bed. Nothing except grave was going to turn him from the task he had given himself, that of leading India's Muslims at the critical juncture in their history.¹⁵³

In the last days of united India he realized that he was the only thorn in eyes of the Congress. He maintained the secrecy of his illness in order to give moral boost to the Muslim League leaders and Indian Muslims for the goal of Pakistan. Another reason was that if the Congress leaders had known about his illness, they would not have even talked about Pakistan and also not got agreed to give proper

share to Muslims within India.

The Aligarh students who were since long being used by their so called Qaid-i-Azam were after partition became helpless and full of fear and shy for their attachment with Muslim League. They said, as quoted in the *Aligarh Magazine* " we have got the freedom, who can doubt the freedom being the biggest boon. But no one told us that the biggest luxury demands biggest sacrifice.....Aligarh needs us and we need Aligarh and our nation needs us both. We should pledge that our Aligarh and our nation all shall be the basis of power and fame of each other."¹⁵⁴

The ever beloved leader of Aligarh students Sarojini Naidu Governor of U.P. visited Aligarh on 12th Nov. 1947. She was given a very warm welcome. She delivered speeches in Girls College, University School, Strechy Hall and Students Union and intelligently mobilized the students for the love of the nation and the Congress. Her arrival brought a joyful and hopeful change in the atmosphere of Aligarh. She also might have carried very good impression along with her.¹⁵⁵

From that time Aligarh and AMU changed their attitude and were bent upon the loyalty to the nation and faith in the Congress government under the leadership of Jawahar Lal Nehru.

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10. *Ibid*, pp. 258-259
11. Sumit Sarkar, pp. 355
12. Ram Gopal, p .258
13. Gilmartin David, *Empire and Islam*, California, 1988, pp. 146-247
14. *Aligarh Magazine*, March, 1939, pp. 4-7
15. *Select Committee Proceedings Book, 1935-44*, 26.3.39 (AMU Union Hall).
16. *Ibid*
17. *Private Business Meeting Register, 1937-44*, 6th October, 1939
18. *Ibid*
19. *Muslim India*, pp. 382-383
20. *Ibid*, pp. 383-384
21. *Ibid*
22. *Private Business Meeting Register 1937-44*, 2nd Feb. 1939 (AMU Union Hall)
23. *Hindustan Times*, 27th January, 1939. See also Aziz, p. 414 cited in A.K.Fazul
Haque's *Muslim Suffering under Congress Rule*, Calcutta, December, 1939 and

Fikr-o-Nazar, Vol. III, p. 255

24. *File No. 79, 1938-39 (AA)*

25. *Ibid*

26. *Private Business Meeting Register, 1937-44, (27th Jan., 1939) (AMU Union Hall)*

27. Bipan Chandra, p. 434 taken from *M.A. Jinnah, Speeches and Writings*, edidted by Jamiluddin, Vol. I, Lahore 1960 pp. 69-70 & 72-73

28. *File No. 51, 1939-40 (AA)* See also *Annual Report of AMU 1939 (AA)* and Mujahid, Al Sharif, *Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah*, Delhi, 1993, pp. 581, 585, 588 and 592 (Hereafter autoted as 'Qaid-i-Azam')

29. *Muslim India*, pp. 334-340

30. *Qaid-i-Azam*, pp. 585, 588, & 592

31. Summit Sarkar, p. 355 quoted from Chaudhary Khaliquzzam, *Pathway to Pakistan*, p. 192

32. Datta, Kali Kinar, *Rajendra Prasad*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 208

33. *File No. 51, 1937-38 (AA)* See also Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin, *Jinnah's Correspondence*, New Delhi, 1981, p. 184 (Hereafter cited as 'Jinnah's Correspondence')

34. *File No. 51, 1937-38 (AA)* See also *Muslim India*, pp. 334-340

35. *Jinnah's Correspondence*, p. 184

36. *Ibid* p. 184-185

37. *Ibid* p. 185

38. *Ibid*

39. *Aligarh Gazetteer*, p. 42

40. *Ibid*

41. Bakshi, p. 117

42. *File No. IV/I, 1936 (AA)*

43. *Ibid*

44. *File No. 51 1942-43, 1943-44 & 1945-46 (AA)* See also *Annual Report 1943, 1944 (AA)*

45. *Ibid*

46. *File No. 51, 1942 (AA)*

47. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 172

48. According to Amin Zuberi in *Zia-i-Hayat*, when Mr. Jinnah arrived in Aligarh 1938, a great preparation was made for his welcome on the part of the university. The railway station was full of students and staff. When Mr. Jinnah sat in the car then university scout showed its performance. Dr.Ziauddin in honour of Mr. Jinnah gave dinner in Zaka Manzil on the large scale. He made a stay for the three days and these three days he was very busy. He met the students of the different ideologies and gave a long impressive speech in the Union. (*Zia-i-Hayat*, .p. 172)

49. *File No. 4 , 1942-43 (AA)*

50. *Ibid*

51. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 173

52. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 173

53. *Muslim University Union Ministry Report, 1945-52 & 1946-47, 20th November, 1946 (AMU Union Hall)* See also *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 191

54. The students very much infuriated with Dr. Ziauddin because the matter of Bihar was sentimentally attached with the students. They were actively participated in collection of Bihar relief fund and also worked in the elections (*Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 191)

55. Students Union held a meeting and resolved "this meeting of the MU Union highly condemns the attitude of certain undesirable students who behaved with the VC so indecently on 26th December 1946....."(*Muslim University Union Ministry Report, 1945-52, 31st December, 1946*)

56. *Zia-i-Hayat*, p. 191

57. *Ibid* p. 193

58. *Ibid*, p. 193

59. *Private Business Meeting Register MU Union, 1937-1944*, 17th Feb. 1994 (AMU Union Hall)

60. Khaksars had been in existence since 1931 but it was in 1939-40 that its activities became felt. It was a semi-military organisation whose membership was estimated about four lakhs till 1940. Armed with spade the Khaksars were brought under iron discipline and implicit obedience to order from the higher command involving in some case of breach, public flaggings. In the early summer of 1940, they came into violent conflict with Government of Punjab leading to police firing and number of casualties. (Low, Francis, *The Indian Year Book and Who's Who 1940*, Vol. XXVII, p. 885)

61. *Private Business Meeting Register, 1937-44*, 26th November, 1941 (AMU Union Hall)

62. *Ibid*, 1st April, 1942

63. It was very funny that Qaid-i-Azam of the Muslim community Mr. Jinnah had no more Muslim qualities. He drank frequently ate pork, rarely entered a mosque and ignored the Quran. (Collins, Larry, & Lappiere, Dominique, *Freedom at Midnight*, 1975, New York, p. 152)

64. *Private Business Meeting Register, 1937-44*, 1st April, 1942 (AMU Union Hall)

65. *AIG*, 1st Jan 1941

66. In 1946 more than 32000 primary members were enrolled by the Aligarh Distt. Congress Committee. It was understood that about 1000 Muslim also get themselves enrolled as members of the Congress (*The Hindustan Times*, Jan, 11; 1946)

67. *Dept. of Policy*, File No. RR 26, p. 50 (UPSAL)

68. *Ibid*, p. 52

69. *Ibid*, pp. 41-42

70. *Ibid* p. 43

71. *Ibid* p. 33-34

72. *Ibid*, p. 131

73. *Ibid*, p. 126

74. *Ibid* p. 142

75. *Ibid*, pp. 143-144

76. *Aligarh Gazetteer*, pp. 42-43

77. *Dept. of Police*, File No. RR 26, p. 46-47 (UPSAL)

78. *Ibid* p. 47-48

79. *Ibid*, pp. 50-52

80. *Ibid*, p. 54

81. *AIG* 1st January, 1943

82. *Qaid-i-Azam*, p. 442

83. *The Dawn*, 23rd Dec. 1944

84. *Foundations of Pakistan*, p. 347

85. *AIG*, 1st April, 1941

86. *AIG*, 15th October, 1941

87. *Ibid*

88. *Ibid*, 1st November, 1941

89. Welcome Welcome, Oh! Paragon of the East,
Hero of the day, freshly crowned with never dying fame
Fighting for freedom, victory-Pakistan,
Struggling for thy nation, an illustrious warrior of thy land.
Shower your paramount golden beams,
Thus make us from our deep slumber,

Infuse us again and again with life and light,
Create in us unity, duty, discipline and sacrifice.
Stabilize our fickle minds and bless us with faith and action,
Give us planes, tanks, destroyers, and all
Well, the strength of the arm is not looked,
The sharpness of the sword is not counted.
But the skill and valour that is amounted,
So shall we march, onward, onward, onward, still,
Advance forward with skill,
Beyond time beyond space near the horizon.

(AIG, 15 November, 1941)

90. AIG, 15 November, 1941
91. Ibid
92. Ibid
93. Ibid, 1st January, 1944
94. The Dawn, 29th December, 1944
95. Ibid
96. Ibid, 27th December, 1944
97. AIG, 1st August, 1943
98. Private Business Meeting Register, 1937-44, 3rd March 1944
99. Aligarh Magazine, March, 1944, p. A few sentimental students of AMU styled themselves as 'National Guards' in order to support and propagate the programmes of the Muslim League.
100. Muslim University Union Report, 1945-52, 1945-46, 4th August, 1945 (AMU Union Report)
101. Ibid, 6th August, 1945
102. Ibid, 11th August, 1945
103. Qaid-i-Azam, pp. 446-447, quoted from the news paper "The Star of India" 24th September, 1945 (Calcutta)
104. Muslim University Union Ministry Report, 1945-52, 1945-46, 1st October, 1945 (AMU Union Hall)
105. Ibid, 1945-46, 12th March, 1946
106. Qaid-i-Azam, p. 629
107. Ibid, 1945-46, 27th May 1946 (AMU Union Hall)
108. Ibid, 1947-48, 30th May, 1947
109. Bipan Chandra, pp. 492-93
110. The Dawn, 17th June, 1946
111. Ibid
112. Ibid, 28th June 1946
113. Freedom at Midnight, p. 117
114. Das, M.N., A Contemporary History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. 3, New Delhi, 1985, p. 707 (Hereafter cited as 'Das')
115. Qaid-i-Azam, p. 506
116. Muslim University Union Ministry Report, 1945-46, 23rd March, 1947 (AMU Union Hall)
117. Qaid-i-Azam, p. 507
118. Sumit Sarkar, p. 432
119. Bakshi, pp. 149.
120. Ibid, pp. 149-150
121. Das, p. 704
122. Muslim University Ministry Report, 1946-47, 1st November, 1946 (AMU Union Hall)
123. Bipan Chandra, p. 494
124. Das, p. 706

125. *Ibid*
126. *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, p. 517 taken from 'A Pledge for Pakistan, full Proceeding of League Legislators Convention, Delhi, 1946 (New Era Publication, Lahore)
127. *The Hindustan Times*, 2nd April, 1946
128. *The Dawn*, 15th June, 1946
129. *The Hindustan Times*, 24th July, 1946
130. *Muslim University Union Ministry Report, 1946-47*, 9th November, 1946 (AMU Union Hall)
131. *Ibid*, 25th January, 1947
132. *Ibid, 1947-48*, 2nd March, 1947
133. *The Dawn*, 15th June, 1946
134. *Muslim University Union Ministry Report, 1946-47*, 3rd March, 1946 (AMU Union Hall)
135. *India Divided*, pp. 181-183 See also, Kumar. Kamlesh, *Role of Muslims in Indian Politics (1857-1947)*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 236
136. Bakshi, p. 150
137. *Freedom at Midnight*, p. 107
138. *Ibid*, pp. 132-133
139. *Ibid*, pp. 133-134
140. Jinnah told Mountbatten that it was like court case that he had handled a dispute between two brothers embittered by the shares assinged to them by their father's will. Yet two year after the court had adjudicated their dispute, they were the greatest friend, that would be the case in India (*Ibid*, p.118)
- 141 *Ibid*
142. Bakshi, pp. 151-152
143. *Ibid*
144. Bipan, pp.500
145. *Fikr-o-Nazar*, part II, p. 118
146. *Freedom at Midnight*, p. 262
147. *Ibid*, p. 263
158. *Ibid*, p. 264
159. Bakshi, p. 153
150. Nehru, Jawahar Lal, *Selected Works* edited by S.Gopal, Vol. 15, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 3-6-7
151. Bipan Chandra, p. 503
152. *Freedom at Midnight*.pp. 124-25
153. *Ibid*, p. 125
154. *Aligarh Magazine*, 1947, pp. 1-2
155. *Ibid*, p. 2

CONCLUSIONS

The present work is an attempt at analysing the role of students, teachers, old boys and trustees of the M.A.O. College as well as Aligarh Muslim University in the national movement of India. It also included the blossoming the Aligarh Muslim University from the M.A.O. College, its constitution, establishments of the department of study and their functioning as well as the foundation of Jamia Millia Islamia.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the great well-wisher of the Muslim community followed a policy of loyalism to the British Government from the very beginning. This policy was based on personal experiences and his observation of the suffering of Muslims since the Plassy disaster and later on the massacre of Muslims during the revolt of 1857. Due to these setbacks Muslims lost not only their political identity but also became economically and socially weak. To uplift the Muslims educationally, socially and economically the founder of the M.A.O. College had no alternative but to pursue the policy of loyalism with caution.

To be fair to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, his loyalism to the Raj was based on expediency. As long as he lived he maintained a remarkable balance between power and politics. He did not allow his followers or the Muslim community to engage in political affairs and always taught them that the upliftment of the Muslims was only possible through education.

He founded a college in Aligarh known as M.A.O. College but his real aim was to make to M.A.O. College a Muslim University even though it was not fulfilled in his life time. After his death his friends and pupils intended to give real shape to the dreams of their cherished leader and social reformer by starting movement for the foundation of a Muslim University. British bureaucracy, in conjunction with the British Principal of the MAO College also played an important role although with a different and purely political purpose , that is of alienating the Muslim elites, by throwing before them the bait of Muslim University. It led to an incredible increase in the number of loyalists in the college but very interestingly in the second decade of the 20th century they faced stiff opposition from the new crop of young

nationalists. Prominent among them were Ali brothers, Hasrat Mohani, Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman, Zafer Ali Khan etc.

As far as founding the Muslim University in Aligarh was concerned British government had mainly two objections the first was about the word "Muslim" in the name Aligarh Muslim University while the other was about the affiliation of the colleges to the said university. Naturally these objections delayed the granting of charter to the university. The World War I gave further set back to the movement. But after the end of the war the movement got a fresh impetus and finally in December 1920 the dream of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was fulfilled but not without sacrificing the affiliating power out of the Aligarh city.

It is matter of debate as to why did the British government pass the AMU Act in 1920? Were they really sympathetic to the Muslim community? As far as the first question is concerned the government had taken this step due to various reasons. As the Aligarh Muslims were staunch followers of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and had at his behest, followed the policy of loyalism to benefit the Muslim community of India. Yet the British government did not care a fig for them and this frustrated the young generation of the Muslims into becoming nationalists. Their participation in the Non-Cooperation Movement alarmed the government and it compelled the government to change its policy and they fulfilled the demand of Muslim University in order to satisfy the Muslims of India. The government became very clear that their delay in this regard would harm them ultimately. British govt. was not against the Muslim education but it was deliberately delaying the Muslim demands in order to maintain its hold over them. The government wanted to use the Muslims against the Hindus by awakening them about their share in power. But the government was also afraid of educating the Muslims and thought that by complete education the Muslims will emerge a stronger, efficient and reasonable community like the Hindus and will create disturbances for the government. That's why the government did not allow the Muslim University the affiliating power out the Aligarh district. The government was not ready to take a risk that the loyalists who were always begging for their rights, should start an all India movement to get their rights.

But before the elevation of the M.A.O. College to a Muslim University, the nationalist movement in Aligarh had already gained momentum and tussle between the loyalists and the nationalists had almost reached its zenith. The loyalists of Aligarh were happy because their dream of establishing a Muslim University was about to fulfil. The nationalists on the other hand wanted a university free and independent from British control. The nationalists after failing to reach any compromise, decided to set up an independent university

With the determination to establish National Muslim University the nationalists invited both Hindus and Muslims to attend the inaugural ceremony of the National Muslim University on 29th October 1920.

Thus a new institution was born. It had the blessings and financial support of Gandhiji and Indian National Congress. This institution was later renamed as 'Jamia Millia Islamia'. Maulana Mohd. Ali prepared a syllabus and then the teaching got underway at the National Muslim University. Maulana Mohd. Ali himself started teaching English and Modern History. Senior students of AMU were also roped in to function as teachers. The curriculum prepared by Maulana Mohammad Ali was predominantly on nationalistic pattern.

While AMU started its functioning under the complete control of the loyalists, the nationalists with their independent and national outlook kept themselves engaged in Jamia Millia Islamia which later on shifted to Delhi in 1925.

AMU was imparting very valuable education, its courses of study were both general and professional but the unique thing of this university was its pattern of education, culture and traditions.

The discipline, traditions and culture of Aligarh were modelled to some extent on the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge. At Oxford and Cambridge, the students attendance at church service and recitation of a few verses from the Bible in the dining hall everyday before lunch was considered necessary for the formation of the character of the students, Similarly for the development of culture and character, saying of the daily prayers and attending the Friday Sermon was enforced on Muslim students in Aligarh. It was the general belief that religious and spiritual life would greatly help in formation of character of the students. Aligarh always insisted on development of sound judgement, good manners, common sense and self-sacrifice as essential elements for education. AMU did never betray any kind of bias or prejudices against or in favour of any particular community.

When the AMU started its functioning, it established many new departments but its sources for grants were too limited. It became very difficult to carry on full-fledged teaching in some departments. But when the required money was received from different sources many appointments were made for that purpose and regular teaching s and full-fledged departments were started. In the beginning the process of development was quite slow as its first Vice-Chancellor Raja of Mahmoodabad, due to his busy schedule, could not give much attention to the university affairs. When Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan elected as Vice-Chancellor, the strength of the students rose greatly and many new departments of study were opened in the university. The Pro Vice-Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin also made many revolutionary

improvements in the university. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was a pure academician and was really concerned about the Muslim problems and in many occasions introduced reforms which were objectionable for the Vice Chancellor. One of his very remarkable reforms was starting the policy of holding private examinations.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the ideal of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad Khan and he had the same dream of educating the illiterate persons particularly the Muslims all over India. Both Sahibzada and Dr. Ziauddin were in a mood to popularise the Muslim University and tried to attract the Muslim towards the educational movement of Aligarh. They got an opportunity to materialize this objective in 1925 when the institution was completing its 50 years since its establishment in 1875. They decided to mark the occasion a scheme by celebrating the jubilee year. To make the jubilee celebration attractive, successful and popular, the meetings of the other bodies were also arranged. These bodies included All India Mohammedan Educational Conference, All India Urdu Conference, The Muslim Rajput Conference, All India Muslim League, Tanzeem and University Convocation. Many debates, games and tournaments were also organised. This celebration benefitted the university a lot. On the one hand Muslim University became popular all over India and received attention of the Muslim community. On the other hand it received a large sum of money in donations i.e. Rs. 1,76,000/- in cash, and assurances were made for more than Rs. 300,000/-.

The important works of the next Vice Chancellor Sir Ross Masood were the inclusion of Intermediate college and schools in the university, improvements in Urdu, Geography, introduction of Hindi, and drainage and electrification of the university, starting of VC fund for the poor students, building of gymnasium and swimming bath etc. His most important and highly appreciable work was the starting of the science college and collection Rs. 25 lakhs for the purpose. He also started research provision and appointed able staff for that purpose.

But his works were not appreciated by a section of the AMU authorities and even his own friends also began to criticise him. It was the endeavour of Sir Ross Masood to give a practical shape to his grandfather's dream. He never expected that anybody will oppose him as he was not an ordinary man. He had not the responsibility by post only but by blood too. By nature he was very sentimental and was particularly aggrieved when the opposition came from his own friends. He tendered his resignation on April 1934 and left for Europe.

The next Vice Chancellor Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was also an able man. Till 1947 he made many developments in the university. His first step was to acquire the Aligarh fort to meet the needs of the lands for

the development of the university. Many new departments and courses of study were also opened. A few among them were Journalism, Military Drill, Agriculture, Commerce, Geology etc. The faculty system which was introduced in 1944 marked further development in the educational system of AMU. Dr. Ziauddin played a very important role in establishing many war-related courses. With the help of the government he established many courses like War Technician, A.R.P. Chemical Industry, Military College, Flying Club, Radio, Navel Training etc. Sir Agha Khan suggested him to establish a Medical College and also gave a handsome donation for that purpose. Under the guidance of Dr. Ziauddin Ahamd many deputations toured through out the length and breath of the country, and till 1947 about Rs. 50 lakhs were collected for the purpose of establishing the Medical College.

As far as Engineering College was concerned, the teaching for diploma courses had started as early as 1924 but its real beginning was possible only in 1935 when the Technical Institute was started. In 1940 the department of Technology was established. Tibbiya College also made a noticeable progress for the first time since its establishment in 1927, and its diploma holder Hakim began to be recruited by U.P. government.

Since long Aligarh had been a centre of education for boys but by the efforts of Shaikh Abdullah, a girls school was also started in 1907. He felt that the social problems of the ladies were of a really serious nature and that their emancipation was only possible through modern education. But giving it a practical shape was undoubtedly a difficult task. The work of Shaikh Abdullah was not only opposed by orthodox section of the Muslim community and general masses but also by some highly educated persons of the community and even by his own friends.

He faced great difficulty in collecting donations for the schools, recruitments of the teachers and in the admission of the girl students. The most difficult work was to mobilise the people to send their daughters to the school. Another problem was that those who had so far opposed his work through speeches and writings only, now came out openly against him and started creating problems in his path. In 1914 when boarding house completed its construction, no parents were ready to lodge their daughters in the boarding house. But after untiring efforts of Shaikh Abdullah and Begum Abdullah a few parents became ready to lodge their daughters after a lot of enquiry. From then the lodging process increased day by day.

From 1921 this small girls schools rose to the status of a Girls High School and in 1929 U.P. Board recognised it as an Intermediate College. In 1930 this college got affiliated to the Muslim University.

But the grant from the Muslim University was too meager and Shaikh Abdullah thought it better to convert it into provincial college in order to get a bigger grant from the U.P. government. By the joint efforts of Dr. Ziauddin and Shaikh Abdullah this college became a provincial college under the U.P. government in 1942.

In history of the AMU its worst aspect was the internal bitterness among the puplis of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, like Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Sahibzada Aftab Khan, Shaikh Abdullah etc. Much attention is required to dig up the reason behind their betterness. Actually all the associates of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan were of high positions and belonged to almost the same pedestal. They had equally devoted their energies in founding the AMU. When the university was founded they took charges of running the institution but their appointments were not of equal grade. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad who devoted the whole of his life to Aligarh and always tried to do his best for it, for example in the crisis of 1920 when he saved this institution from the clutches of politicians, was appointed as Pro-Vice Chancellor of AMU. While Raja of Mahmoodabad a second rate alumnus was given the Vice Chancellorship. After Raja Sahib, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad became Vice Chancellor but Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad remained on the same position. All these persons had different ideologies which came into conflict with one another.

Sahibzada Sahib wanted to run the university strictly according to the rules and regulations. But Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad was a unique personality and he always considered himself as the real successor of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. In the life time of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan he has promised him to serve this institution till death. No doubt he remained true to his promise and acted boldly when ever the M.A.O. College and later on the AMU has to face any problem. He thought that the ultimate aim of the university was to educate the students in general and Muslim students in particular. According to him rules and regulations were mere technical restrictions which he always waived in most of the cases. But his position in the university was secondary as he was the Pro-Vice Chancellor and hence not in a position to do what was good for the cause of the university, and ultimately he was constrained to implement his schemes but he did so without the consultation of the Vice Chancellor. His nature of independent thinking and idea of educating the Muslim youth by flouting the regulations in certain cases created a band of opponents in the university led by his own colleagues and friends. These were the reasons which created a serious rift between the Vice Chancellor and the Pro-Vice Chancellor and were a cause of bitterness between them. A lot of negative

propaganda was made against Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, the main focus of which was that the standard of the university was falling down and the rules and regulations were being violated openly.

As a result of these differences and allegations over university functioning the government paid its attention over AMU and an enquiry committee popularly known as "Rahmatullah Enquiry Committee" was appointed to look into the whole affair. The committee after enquiring all the departments of the university and interviewing many relevant persons submitted its report. According to the recommendations of the report many reforms were made. The report also requested Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad to resign from his post of Pro-Vice Chancellor while appreciating his services for the institution.

As far political developments in Aligarh, the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement played the most important role. Most of the Aligarh Muslims participated in this movement. This movement disturbed the British government and they intensified their policy of divide and rule. The government immediately granted the charter to the Muslim University to bring the Muslim back to its fold. But still much to the chagrin of the govt., the AMU and other Muslims actively participated in the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements.

The Indian Ulema and the Congress led by Gandhiji also supported the Khilafatists. Gandhiji invited all Hindus to support the Muslims on the Khilafat issue. Khilafat alongwith Non-Cooperation Movement united all the Hindus and Muslims of India on one platform. Actually by supporting the Khilafat Movement Gandhiji had made a great diplomatic effort of bringing the Muslims into the freedom struggle. The Aligarh nationalists like Ali brothers, Hasrat Mohani, Ajmal Khan etc played a leading role in it. But a few Aligarh Muslims still had great expectation from the British government and they decided to remain loyal to it.

In Aligarh the nationalists and loyalists waged a cold war through pamphlets and ballots. They held a number of secret meetings to woo the students on their respective sides. But it is noteworthy that the students had great sympathy and support for the nationalists stand. The Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement thus brought about a remarkable change in the Aligarh politics.

One thing must be cleared here, whether the Khilafat question was a reality? All the discussions, facts and results on the topic make it clear that the Khilafat was a movement to save the dynastic rule of the Turkish Sultan. It was nothing to do with the religion or rest of the Muslim world. As Ali brothers and other Aligarh nationalists who were perhaps fully aware of the fact, found it a good pretext to propagate the nationalist feelings among the Muslim masses. Mahatma

Muslim's role in the freedom struggle and appealed to the Hindus to help their Muslim brethren. It soon developed into a movement and resulted in an unprecedented Hindu-Muslim unity and took the form of a tough struggle of nationalist movement against the British government. This movement coupled with the Hindu-Muslim unity broke the backbone of the British government.

When Aligarh came into limelight due to its political interest and activities both Muslim League and Congress tried their best to obtain a foothold for themselves in Aligarh. But as Muslim League had not had much following even among the Muslims till 1937, the Congress succeeded in making a stronghold for itself in Aligarh. Since the time of Non-Cooperation Movement Aligarh had already become a favourite hunting ground for the nationalist Muslims. Almost all the top rank Congress leaders had visited MAO College and later on AMU and received a very positive response from the students. Its alumni joined the Congress, Khilafat and Swaraj party in order to serve the nation and played a memorable role in history of freedom movement.

Muslim League had a very weak position in U.P. where it was no more than a small group led by Nawab Mohd. Ismail and Ch. Khailquzzaman. But its leaders were not against the Congress or its policies. They thought that the service of the nation was only possible by the joint efforts of Hindus and Muslims without any sectional difference and they proved their nationalist and secular credentials by supporting the Congress at many places in the election of 1937. But unfortunately, as a result of the opportunistic policies of the Congress leaders the Muslim League not only turned against the Congress to its policies in U.P. but started working day & night for strengthening the position of Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah also got opportunity to mobilise the Muslim youths by citing the example of the Congress attitude in distributing the portfolios of the U.P. cabinet.

Thus Aligarh became a synthesis of Congress and Muslim League. After 1937 Muslim League dominated in Aligarh and all students bodies of AMU. Slowly and gradually in the last few years of the freedom movement Mr. Jinnah was able to get support of AMU students in favour of Pakistan.

Hindu-Muslim unity was the major obstacle before the Britishers to run their empire peacefully. So they followed the divide and rule policy and initially they supported the Hindus. But when the Hindus became aware of their rights and began movements for India's freedom, the Britishers started trying to woo the Muslims and granted concessions in the administration. Their tactics could not succeed

initially as Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements were at their peak at that time but after suspension of these movements the govt. succeeded in wooing certain communal minded political leaders in order to create difference between Hindus and Muslims and widen the gap between them. The flavour of Shuddhi Sangathan, Tableegh and Tanzeem fully communalised the people and communal riots started in many places in India.

The communal movement was like a wildfire which affected most of the people of India. After these communal riots the gap between the two communities never be bridged. Although many political parties of both the communities tried their best to bring about the Hindu-Muslim unity, they could not quite succeed.

In Aligarh Shaikh Abdullah founded the Independent Muslim Party. This party criticised the communal minded leaders and decided to cooperate with any political party whose aim would be to achieve the Hindu-Muslim unity and in the interest of the country. This party attracted many secular Muslims later on by its campaign of nationalism and communal harmony. The loyalist group also shared the ideology of Shaikh Abdullah. They all tried to promote the Hindu Muslim unity and this process continued till 1937.

When the Simon Commission arrived in India many Muslim leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Dr. M.A. Ansari Mr. T.A.K. Sherwani formed the Muslim Nationalist Party in order to mobilise the Muslim masses in favour of the national movement and to boycott the Simon Commission. Besides this the Muslim League led by Mr. Jinnah, Jamiatul Ulema, Khilafat Committee etc. opposed the Commission. Among others who opposed the Commission were Sir. Ali Imam, Syed Hasan Imam, Maharaja of Mahmoodabad, Maulana Mohd. Ali and Shaukat Ali. The active participation of Aligarh students was doubtful. According to the loyalists the university was an educational institution and participation of the students in political movements could ruin of their carriers. Besides, the university was running with the aid of the British govt. and political participation of the students meant disaster for the university also. So even though the members of the university bodies got involved in politics but they never allowed the students into political participation.

It is also noteworthy that the AMU students were full of political awareness. The role of the students union was mainly to hold debates and discussion on the topics of social, economic, educational and particularly political problems. For that purpose many political leaders were being invited from time to time. Thus it was just not possible for the AMU students to keep quite regarding political movements when they were so thoroughly coloured with nationalism and

secularism. But as no written records are available about their role in these movements, it may be safely assumed that they showed remarkable maturity on partial aloofness from these political developments. But it should never be forgotten that inspite of their partial aloofness from political agitations, they always actively promoted Hindu-Muslim unity.

Civil Disobedience Movement started in 1930, gave a further momentum to the freedom movement and blazed the national feelings all over India. Although the govt. adopted the policy of keeping the Muslims away from the movement but the irresistible Muslim leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Syed Mahmood, T.A.K. Sherwani, Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan etc. could not be contained. Muslim Nationalist Party, Jamiatul-Ulema-i-Hind, Ahrarul Islam, Khudai Khidmatgar etc. gave great sacrifices for the movement. But for a few Muslims League leaders, the Muslim community as a whole participated actively. The followers of Mr. Jinnah kept aloof in the movement due to the inconsistency of the Congress policy towards Muslims regarding Nehru Report.

The AMU remained unaffected by all this and there was no discipline problem for the administration. But the rest of Aligarh participated in the movement and fully cooperated with their leaders.

When in the 1937 Congress won a mammoth majority of seats, it was fair chance for it to merge most of the smaller political parties with itself. Even the most prominent Muslim League Leader Mr. Jinnah had much hope from the Congress. At that time it was considered that the Congress was a nationalistic party whose goal was to achieve Indian freedom and Hindu-Muslim unity and other parties were considered merely opportunistic and power hungry. But here the Congress, played a negative role. In Bengal when Fazal Husain a Krishak Praja Party leader pleaded with the Congress for its support the Congress declined the request. If Congress had supported the Krishak Praja party, it would definitely have become a part of the congress or a Congress supporting party. Similarly in U.P., the most important and influential Muslim League leaders viz., Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Mohd. Ismail Khan, who had very cordial relations with the Congress and had a good many friends in this party, felt frustrated by attitude of the Congress. In the elections of 1937 they had actively campaigned for the Congress, as Congress had given the assurance of a coalition govt. in UP after victory. But when Congress returned to power with absolute majority it did not remain true to its words and it rejected the Muslim League demand of taking two League members in the ministry. Congress was ready to accept only one member from the League. This infuriated the members of the Muslim

League and they severed their connections from the Congress. If it had taken the two Congress minded Muslim League members Chaudhary Khaiquzzaman and Nawab Ismail, then at least in UP Muslim League would have lost its roots for ever. But Congress, by its policies, indirectly supported in strengthening the Muslim League at every step.

But as has been indicated earlier the worst side of the Aligarh alumni was their different ideology due to the political situations and circumstances in India. If they had united themselves on the platform of Indian freedom struggle with a common ideology they must have created an unforgettable history in the national movement of India. No doubt they all had the same goal of freeing of India but ideological differences among them played a demonic role in dividing them into different groups and political parties. The nationalist group had only one and common goal of freedom of India at any cost and divided themselves into Congress, Muslim League, Khilafat Party, Swaraj Party, Communist Party and many regional parties. The group of loyalist had primary aim of ameliorating the position of Musalmans who were most backward socially, educationally and economically. For that cause they joined hands with government so that they would get all sorts of help and grants for the welfare of the Muslims. They also demanded constitutional rights for Muslim community. But it does no wise mean that they were against the freedom movement. They had the same feeling for motherland as had the nationalist but their feelings remained confined to their hearts as they had to adopt the diplomatic path for the achievement of their goal. There was an other group who were both nationalists and loyalists. They were very influential persons and due to their honourable position in the society government had deputed them on high govt posts. But these Aligarians, instead of supporting the British govt. helped the nationalists on many occasions and had a deep sympathy with the movement launched by the nationalist leaders. They not only supported the national programmes but also enlisted themselves into political parties like Congress, Muslim League etc.

Since the Muslim League was deceived by the Congress, League started poisoning the minds of the Muslims against the Congress and branded it as a Hindu organisation. The Muslim League blamed the Congress for its anti-Urdu, anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim policies and alleged that only the Congress was responsible for the communal

riots and for the butchering of the Muslim masses in the Congress ruled provinces. The anti-Congress propaganda of Muslim League was appealing to the Muslim masses because of the presence of some leaders in the Congress who were also having membership of communal organisation like Hindu Mahasabha. They always tried to embitter the relations between Muslims and the Congress. Although a good many Muslim leaders were still there in the Congress party but their position was merely of advisors and hardly of any value.

The Aligarh Muslim University could not remain unaffected this time and the students got infuriated because their beloved leaders like Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan were denied ministries by the Congress. The AMU students began to become sympathetic towards the Muslim League. The annual visit of Mr. Jinnah and his speeches further convinced the students in favour of Muslim League.

The beginning of anti-Congress activities in Muslim League once again divided the Muslims as a whole into two groups. Similarly the Aligarh Muslims were also divided in to two groups one supporting the Congress and the other Muslim League. But whenever the Congress leaders visited Aligarh and AMU they were very warmly welcomed and the students listened to them with great enthusiasm.

But the university authorities never gave any encouragement to the nationalist feelings among the students, following the loyalist ideology. Perhaps they were afraid of the British government as the AMU was running by its aid. Sometimes they betrayed their nationalist feelings by secretly supporting parties like Muslim League, Congress and the Communist Party.

For the time being the political movement become slow due to the beginning of the World War II. It was followed by a political crisis and many Congress ministers resigned. During this crisis Muslim League got a fair chance to knock down the Congress, and it not only observed the 'Day of Deliverance' but it started the Pakistan Movement also. The non-Congress ministries in Punjab, Sindh and Bengal pledged their full support to the govt. Indian States as usual also offered their support with men and money while Congress was still opposing the govt. tooth & nail in this war.

In the AMU campus almost all parties were trying to get sympathy of the students it created an atmosphere of diverse thinking process. Some times it was the followers of the Congress who seemed to have become powerful, at others it was the turn to the communists

but mostly it was the Muslim League. The Muslim League was the most favoured party not only of the students but also of the Aligarh authorities. Actually the portfolio distributing episode in U.P. after the 1937 election, the controversy over Urdu language, atrocities committed upon the Muslims during the Congress rule and suppression of the Khaksars continued the Muslims as a whole that the Congress could never be a saviour of the Muslims. Aligarh being centre of the Muslim intelligentsia greatly felt so and the stirring speeches of Mr. Jinnah further convinced the Aligarh Muslims that the only alternative of the Congress was the Muslim League. While all this was going on in India the speeches of Mr. Jinnah could not convince the nationalist Muslims of Aligarh and they always opposed the separatistic policies of Muslims League.

In the Aligarh city the nationalistic activities were carried on in two ways; one in peaceful Gandhian way and the other, in a revolutionary way. The revolutionary movement flourished a great in Aligarh largely due to its Metal Work Industry. These Krantikaris were great experts in preparing bombs and supplied them to different revolutionary organisations all over India.

The number of nationalist Muslim began decreasing after 1940 when Pakistan resolution was passed by Muslim League. It must not be forgotten that this Pakistan was not a totally independent nation but an autonomous nation within India. Whatsoever it was but it was fact that during this period Muslim League began to instigate the Muslim youths of Aligarh by making them believe that Islam and Muslims were in danger, and that the British wanted to impose Hindu rule upon them. By nature Aligarh youths were very sincere about Muslim problems not only in India but in the whole world, for which they had established an example much earlier in 1920 by revolting against the govt and founding Jamia Millia Islamia in Aligarh. By striking this sentimental card, Mr. Jinnah had succeeding in wooing the Aligarh students in 1937 and now again in 1940 he succeeded in alluring them by the dream of Pakistan although even Mr. Jinnah was not sure about its future. Ironically, the Muslims of India forgot that their religious leaders were Ulema who were in favour of Congress and unity of India; they did not realize that they were being seduced by a man who was no doubt a Muslim by name but far away from Islam and Islamic traditions.

Mr. Jinnah thought it better to get support from the English

educated Muslim youths. That's way he founded AIMS (All India Muslim Students Federation) which became his real weapon to popularise the Muslim League and getting support of the Muslim masses in favour of Pakistan. In the elections also these students helped and confessed for the League. The Aligarh students knew it well that the creation of Pakistan or division of India would never benefit them as the region adjoining Aligarh would remain in India even after the division. Yet they supported the cause of Pakistan in order to react to the Muslims sufferings according to the propaganda spread by Mr. Jinnah who visited Aligarh annually and gave stirring speeches to mobilise the students. As a result of these efforts the Muslim youths founded a branch of Muslim League' in AMU. Its branch was also opened in Aligarh city. More interestingly even children of Aligarh founded 'Bachcha Muslim League, in Aligarh to show their sympathy with Mr. Jinnah and his movement for Pakistan.

The British govt. tried to poison the Hindus and Muslims of India against each other and indirectly they maintained their sweet relations with both the communities. But the political leaders of India were aware of their trick. Even Muslim League did not remain behind, by following the 'Quit India Movement' of the Congress, although a bit differently giving the call for 'Divide and Quit' .If the word divide was supporting the British policy of divide and rule, the word quit was still totally against the govt. So the govt. objected to the creation of Pakistan and demand was rejected by many delegations of England which arrived in India to solve the constitutional problems. Cabinet mission gave green signal to the Muslim League by grouping the provinces on communal basis for the election of Constituent Assembly.

But when Mr. Jinnah saw that the proposed Interim government would be formed by the majority party Congress under the leadership of Nehru, he declined to cooperate with Nehru in ministry formation. Being by nature a dictator and an egomaniac he wanted to hold the position of supreme leadership of India. How could Nehru, a leader of the majority party have agreed to the leadership of Jinnah, a leader of minority party. Jinnah was left with no alternative but to strengthen the call of Pakistan. For that purpose the 'Direct Action' programme was started by Muslim League. It led to many communal riots all over India specially in Bengal. Thousands of men were killed and the property estimated at many lacks was looted and burnt.

After hectic negotiations Jinnah condescended to let some of his

colleagues join the ministry of the Interim government but his motive was not to support the govt. But to oppose the Congress policies. Aligarh being the centre of the Muslim intelligentsia extended moral encouragement to Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah and to their goal of Pakistan. Actually it was all because of Aligarh intelligentsia as their leader Mr. Jinnah also thought that Pakistan was an impossible dream. They were also aware of the fact that it was nothing but an excuse of getting greater share for Muslims in the united India. It was also fact that Muslim League was quite sure of getting Muslim majority provinces within India and only for that purpose they had given the call of Pakistan

When Mountbatten arrived in India he tried his best to diffuse the political crisis by having many talks with topmost Indian leaders. It was only Mahatma Gandhi who was against partition but all the other Congress leaders were prepared to handover the Muslim majority areas to Mr. Jinnah. A few leaders of the Congress thought that Pakistan would not remain for long as it was situating on two corners of India. They were confident that a few years later Muslim League would beg for reunification of India. The Muslim League leaders, when they sensed a hint of acceptance of their demand by the Congress stood for their demand firmly, and clearly told the Mountbatten that they would achieve the Pakistan otherwise India would perish.

Ballabh Bhai Patel, already in 1946, was in favour of India's partition and was prepared to hand over the Pakistan to the Muslim League. He was against any conciliation with Muslim League about its demand. Like Mr. Jinnah Mr. Patel was also a power hungry politician. He thought that his aim of having share in power in the free India would perish if Mr. Jinnah remained in India. Perhaps it was Mr. Patel who had also convinced Pt. Nehru of this reality and to agree for partition of India.

Mahatma Gandhi opposed the partition plan tooth and nail. But his pupils has become quite strong by the time India achieved independence, and they refused the plan of the man whom they had since long obeyed. As far as Maulana Azad was concerned, he has in a dilemma as to whether he should follow Mahatma Gandhi or his colleagues Nehru and Patel who were going to become the rulers of India. Being a Muslim if Maulana Azad had supported Gandhiji then the fate of Azad like a true Congressman would have become more

precarious along with the rest of Muslims in free India. It was a good diplomacy at a really testing time that Maulana Azad adopted by keeping quite and leaving on Nehru and Patel to decide the fate of India.

When India was partitioned the Aligarh community was shocked and felt ashamed over its past deeds of being a staunch supporter of Muslim League and Pakistan. But the heavy hand of the Indian govt. did not fall upon Aligarh or AMU because the Congress leaders were also agreed to the Pakistan proposal and indirectly to some extent, were responsible for partition. After independence the Congress leaders visited Aligarh and the students as well as the rest of the intelligentsia of AMU actively cooperated with them and responded positively to their call of nationalism and patriotism.

APPENDICES

(A) OFFICE BEARERS OF THE AMU, 1920-47

I *Chancellor's of the AMU (1920-47)*¹

S.No.	Name	Period
1.	Her Highness Sultan Jahan Begum Sahiba, Ruler of Bhopal December	1920-14 th May, 1930
2.	His Highness Mohammad Hamidullah Khan, Ruler of Bhopal.	21 st September 1930 17 th April, 1935
3.	His Exalted Hihgness Mir Usman Ali Khan, The Nizam of Hyderabad	26 th August, 1935 29 th Nov., 1947

II *Vice Chancellor's of the AMU (1920-47)*²

1.	Raja Sahib Mahmoodabad, Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan	December 1920-28 th February, 1923
2.	Nawab Mohammad 1 st March, 1923-31 st Muzammilullah Khan Sherwani (Acting)	December 1923
3.	Sahibzada Afatb Ahmad Khan	1st January 1924- 31 st December 1926
4.	Nawab Moahmmad Muzammulullah Khan Sherwani	1 st January, -1927 8 th February, -1929
5.	Sir Ross Masood	-9 th February, -1929- October, 1934

(Assumed the charge of this office on 20th October, 1929)

6.	Sir Shah Mohammad Sulaiman	9 th Febraury, 1929- 19 th October, 1929
7.	Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan	1 st October. 1934- 19 th April 1935 (Acting)
8.	Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad	13 th April 1935- 29 th April 1938
9.	Sir Shah Mohamamid Sulaiman	30 th April 1938- 31 st March 1941
10.	Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani	3 rd June 1939 7 th July 1939 (Acting)
11.	Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani	14 th March 1941 23 rd April 1941 (Acting)
12.	Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad	24 th April 1941- 23 rd April 1947
13.	Dr. Zahid Husain	24 th April 1047- 7 th August 1947
14.	Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani	8 th August 1947 20 th August, 1947 (Acting)

II *Pro-Vice Chancellor of the AMU (1920-47)*³

1.	Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad	26 th March, 1921-27 th April, 1928
2.	Mr. M.M. Haneef	2 nd May 1928- 11 th Sep. 1929 (Acting)
3.	Mr. E.A. Horne	12 th September, 1929-7 th June, 1930
4.	Mr. Henry Martin	10 th July, 1930- 29 th January, 1931
5.	Mr. R.B. Ramsbatham	20 th February, 1931-28 th

6.	Mr. Abu Bakr Ahmad	(i) 1 st March, 1935-17 th January, 1935 (Acting)
		(ii) 10 th April, 1935-17 th January 1944*

(B) OFFICE BEARERS OF THE AMU STUDENTS UNION*(I) Vice Presidents of the AMU Students Union (1920-47)**

S.No.	Year	Name
1.	1921	(i) Syed Nurullah (ii) Syed Majiduddin Ahmad
2.	1922	Sultan Mohammad Khan
3.	1923	Mohamad Akbar Alam
4.	1924	Ghulamus Saiyidain
5.	1924-25	Ibne Husain Zubairi
6.	1925-26	Ashraf Ali Khan, Kunwar
7.	1926-27	Abdur Rahim Khan
8.	1927-28	Siraj Husain
9.	1928-29	Ataullah Jan
10.	1929-30	Qazi Ghiyasuddin
11.	1930-31	M. Abdur Qadir
12.	1931-32	Saiduddin Swallhay
13.	1932-33	Syed Abdur Rahman
14.	1933-34	Usman Ahmad Ansari
15.	1934-35	Ali Ahmad Suroor
16.	1935-36	S.Ahmad Ali Chaudhary
17.	1936-37	S. Saeed Jafri
18.	1937-38	Ikram Ahmad Khan
19.	1938-39	Wahid Baksh Qadri
20.	1939-40	Maudood Ahmad Sabri
21.	1940-41	Wajid Baksh Qadri
22.	1941-42	(i) Azizur Rahman (ii) Nusrat Khan
23.	1942-43	Shakir Husain Khan
24.	1943-44	Mohammad Mukhtar Azad
25.	1944-45	Masoodul Hasan Quraishi
26.	1945-46	Kunwar Ishrat Ali Khan

27.	1946-47	A.I.M. Mustafa
28.	1947-48	Ibadat Yar Khan
II Honorary Secretaries of the AMU Students Union (1920-47)⁵		
1.	1921	(i) Mohammad Aslam
		(ii) Mohd. Aftab Ahmad Khan
2.	1922	Nafisul Hasan Siddiqui
3.	1923	Nayyer Laiq Ahmad
4.	1924	Malik Noor Mohammad
5.	1925	Syed Fazle Husain
6.	1926	M. Ataur Rahmad
7.	1927	Z.A. Lari
8.	1928	M.M. Ahmad
9.	1929-30	Hafeezur Rahman
10.	1930-31	Mahmood Hasan
11.	1931-32	Amir Inayatullah Khan
12.	1932-33	(i) Sanaullah
		(ii) Qaisar Husain Zaidi
13.	1933-34	M.A. Shaikh
14.	1934-35	Firoz Nana Ghulam Ali
15.	1935-36	Emran Husain
16.	1936-37	Ahmad Masood
17.	1937-38	Siddiq Ahmad Siddiqui
18.	1938-39	Manzar Alam Ansari
19.	1939-40	Jaliluddin Ahmad Khan
20.	1940-41	Mohammad Hasan Siddiqui
21.	1941-42	Shakir Husain Khan
22.	1942-43	Mushtaq Hussain Khan
23.	1943-44	Abdul Nasir Khan
24.	1944-45	Kunwar Mahmood Ali Khan
25.	1945-46	(i) Khatib Masood Husain
		(ii) Khursheed Hasan
26.	1946-47	Ghayurul Islam
27.	1947-48	Shah Mohammad Hasan Ata

III Honorary Librarian of the AMU Students Union (1920-47)⁶

1.	1920	Sufi Ahmad Baksh (Siddon Union)
2.	1921	Amir Amad Jilani
3.	1922-23	Raja Lal Husain

5.	1924-25	M. Munawwar Ali Khan
6.	1925-26	Syed Hadi Hasan
7.	1926-27	Syed Mujtaba Ali
8.	1927-28	N.H. Khwaja
9.	1928-29	S. Shafqat Ashfaque
10.	1929-30	Qazi Noman Jalalie
11.	1930-31	S. Zulfiqarul Hasnain
12.	1931-32	M. Khalilullah Khan
13.	1932-33	Nawabzada Ali Sagheer
14.	1933-34	Syed Zawar Ali
15.	1944-35	Mohd. Mumtaz
16.	1935-36	S. Nasiruddin
17.	1935-37	Raza Husain Zaidi
18.	1937-38	Ahmad Wahab Khairi
19.	1938-39	Taqi Mohammad
20.	1939-40	Mohammad Ahmad Usmani
21.	1940-41	Asad Ahmad Zuberi
22.	1941-42	Syed Abdul Qadeer Rizvi
23.	1942-43	Mohammad Hashim Azad Kalvi
24.	1943-44	M.A. Wahid
25.	1944-45	Kazim Ali Beg
26.	1945-46	Asgahr Usmani
27.	1946-47	Pirzada Kabiruddin
28.	1947-48	Ashfaq Ali Khan

IV Honorary Life Members of the AMU Students Union (1920-47)⁷

1.	1921	(data not available)
2.	1922	"
3.	1923	"
4.	1924	"
5.	1925	"
6.	1926	"
7.	1927	"
8.	1928	"
9.	1929	Mrs. Annie Besant
10.	1929	Mahatama Gandhi
11.	1929	Dr. Sir Sulaiman
12.	1929	Dr. Shaikh Mohd. Iqbal

13.	1930	H.E. Sir Maleeken Haily
14.	1931	Sir C.V. Raman
15.	1932	Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar
16.	1932	H.E. Yusuf Jamal Pasha of Arabia
17.	1933	Mufti Syed Amin-i-Husaini
18.	1933	Beron Omar Rauf
19.	1933	Mujahid-e-Islam Gazi Busain Raf Baih
20.	1934	Sir Ahga Khan
21.	1934	Khalid Sheldrake
22.	1934	Qaid-i-Sarhd Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
23.	1934	Sir Ross Massod
24.	1935	Khalid Adeeb Khanum (Adebai Turkey)
25.	1936	H.H. Azam Jah, The Prince of Berar
25.	1936	H.E.H. The Nizam of Hyderabad
27.	1937	Sir Abdur Rahim
28.	1938	H.H. Raza Ali Khan Bahadur of Rampur State
29.	1938	Qaid-i-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah
30.	1940	Nawab Mehdi Yar Jang Bahadur
31	1941	Nawab Kamal Yar Jang Bahadur
32.	1942	Ali Asghar Hikmat
33.	1944	Rashid Yasmi
34.	1944	Ibrahimpur Dadar
35.	1945	Mr. E.M. Foster
36.	1948	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru
37.	1948	H.E. Rajgopalachari

**(C) DEPARTMENT OF STUDIES AND THEIR HEADS IN
AMU (1922-23)⁴**

S.No Deptt. Head of the Deptt.

2.	History & Pol. Science	Mr. K.M. Panikar
3.	Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4.	Phylosophy	Mr. M.M. Sharif
5.	Physics	Mr. F.D. Murad
6.	Chemistry	Mr. Allah Baksh
7.	Mathmatics & Astronomy	Mr. A.M. Qureishy
8.	Geography	Major E.W. Dann
9.	Sunni Theology	Maulana Abdullah Ansari
10.	Shia Theogoy	Shamsul Ulema Maulvi Abbas Husain
11.	Islamic Studies	Maulvi Sulaiman Ashraf
12.	Arabic Language & Literature	Dr. A.S. Tritton
13.	Persian	Mr. Hamiduddin Khan
14.	Urdu	Mr. Syed Sajjad Hyder
15.	Law	Mr. Syed Ali Naqi
<i>(1924-25)*</i>		
1.	English	Mr. E.C. Dickinson
2.	History & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3.	Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4.	Phylosophy & Psychology	Mr. M.M. Sharif
5.	Physics	Mr. F.D. Murad
6.	Chemistry	Mr. Allah Baksh
7.	Mathmatics & Astronomy	Dr. D.N. Mullick
8.	Geography	Major E.W. Dann
9.	Sunni Theology	Maulvi Abdullah Ansari
10.	Shia Theolgy	S.U.M. Abbas Husain
11.	Islamic Studies	Maulvi Syed Sulaiman
12.	Arabic Language & Literature	Dr. A.S. Tritton
13.	Persian	Mr. Hamiduddin Khan

14.	Urdu	Mr. Syed Sajjad Hyder
15.	Law	Mr. Syed Ali Naqi
16.	Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
17.	Education	PVC (Ex-office Chairman)
18.	Botany	Mr. Syed Hadi Hasan
19.	Zoology	PVC (Ex-office Chairman)
<i>1925-26¹⁹</i>		
1.	English	Mr. E.C. Dickinson
2.	History & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3.	Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4.	Philosophy & Psychology	Mr. M.M. Sharif
5.	Physics	Dr. D.N. Malik
6.	Chemistry	Mr. M. Hyder
7.	Mathematics & Astronomy	Mr. A.M. Qureishy
8.	Geography	Major E.W. Dann
9.	Sunni Theology	Maulvi Abdullah Ansari
10.	Shia Theology	S.U.M. Abbas Husain
11.	Islamic Studies	Maulvi Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
12.	Arabic Language & Literature	Dr. A.S. Tritton
13.	Persian	Mr. Hamiduddin Khan
14.	Urdu	Mr. Syed Sajjad Hyder
15.	Law	Mr. Syed Ali Naqi
16.	Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
17.	Education	Mr. Habibur Rahman
18.	Botany	Mr. Syed Hadi Hasan
19.	Zoology	Dr. Ataullah Butt
<i>1926-27²⁰</i>		
1.	English	Mr. E.C. Dickinson
2.	History & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3.	Economics	Mr. S.V. Desai
4.	Philosophy & Psychology	Mr. M.M. Sharif
5.	Physics	Mr. F.D. Murad

6.	Chemistry	Lt. Mr. M. Hyder
7.	Mathmatics & Astronomy	Mr. A.M. Qureishy
8.	Geography	Major E.W. Dann
9.	Sunni Theology	Maulvi Abu Bakr
10.	Shia Theology	Maulvi Yusuf Husain
11.	Islamic Studies	Maulvi Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
12.	Arabic Language & Literature	Dr. A.S. Tritton
13.	Persian	Mr. Hamiduddin Khan
14.	Urdu	Mr. Syed Sajjad Hyder
15.	Law	Mr. Syed Ali Naqi
16.	Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
17.	Education	Mr. Habibur Rahman
18.	Botany	Mr. Syed Hadi Hasan
19.	Zoology	Dr. Ataullah Butt (Also Medical Officer)
20.	Engineering Studies	Mr. Mohd Ishaq
<i>1929-30^{1/2}</i>		
1.	English	Mr. R. Firebrace
2.	Histroy & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3.	Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4.	Phylosophy & Psychology	Dr. Syed Zaful Hasan
5.	Physics	Mr. F.D. Murad
6.	Chemistry	Dr. Qasim Ali Mansuri
7.	Mathmatics & Astronomy	Hafiz Mohd. Usman
8.	Geography	Major E.W. Dann
9.	Sunni Theology	Maulvi Abu Bakr
		Mohammad Shees
10.	Shia Theology	Maulvi Yusuf Husain
Najafi		
11.	Islamic Studies	Haji Maulvi Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
12.	Arabic Language & Literature	Dr. A.S. Tritton

13. Persian	Haji Mohd. Hamiduddin
14. Urdu	Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui
15. Law	Maulvi Abdul Khaiq
16. Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
17. Botany	Dr. Asghar Ali Hyder
18. Zoology	Enayat Ali
19. Education	Ghulamus Saiyidain
20. Engineering Studis	Mr. Mohd. Ishaq
21. Medical & Surgery (Unani)	Dr. Ataullah Butt

1931-32¹³

1. English	Mr. H. Harris
2. History & Pol. Scienece	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3. Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4. Phylosophy	Dr. Syed Zafrul Hasan
5. Physics	Dr. R. Samuel
6. Chemistry	Dr. R.F. Hunter
7. Mathmatics	Dr. Andre Weil
8. Geography	Dr. I.R. Khan
9. Sunni Theology	Maulvi Abu Bakr Mohammad Shees
10. Shia Theology	Maulvi Yusuf Husain Najafi
11. Islamic Studies	Haji Maulvi Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
12. Arabic	Dr. A.S. Tritton
13. Persian	Dr. S. Hadi Hasan
14. Urdu	Mr. R.A. Siddiqui
15. Law	Mr. M. Abdul Malik
16. Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
17. Botany	Dr. Asghar Ali Hyder
18. Zoology	Dr. M. Babar Mirza
19. Education	Mr. Kh. Ghulamus
20. French	Mr. I.S. Haqqi
21. German	Mr. A.S. Khairi

1932-33¹³

1.	English	Mr. H. Harris
2.	History & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3.	Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4.	Philosophy	Dr. Syed Zafrul Hasan
5.	Physics	Dr. R. Samuel
6.	Chemistry	Dr. R.F. Hunter
7.	Mathematics	Dr. H. Lessheim
8.	Geography	Dr. I.R. Khan
9.	Sunni Theology	Haji Maulvi Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
10.	Shia Theology	Maulvi Yusuf Husain Najafi
11.	Islamic Studies	Haji Maulvi Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
12.	Arabic	Dr. O. Spies
13.	Persian	Dr. S. Hadi Hasan
14.	Urdu	Mr. R.A. Siddiqui
15.	Law	Mr. M. Abdul Khaliq
16.	Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
17.	Botany	Dr. Rafique Ahmad
18.	Zoology	Dr. M. Babar Mirza
19.	Education	Mr. Kh. Ghulamus Saiyidain

1934-35¹⁴

1.	English	Mr. H. Harris
2.	History & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3.	Economics	Dr. B.N. Kaul
4.	Philosophy	Dr. Syed Zafrul Hasan
5.	Physics	Dr. S. Samuel
6.	Chemistry	Dr. R.F. Hunter
7.	Mathematics	Mr. A.M. Qureshy
8.	Geography	Dr. I.R. Khan
9.	Sunni Theology	Haji Maulvi Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
10.	Shia Theology	Maulvi Syed Sibte Nabi
11.	Arabic	Dr. O. Spies

12. Persian	Dr. S. Hadi Hasan
13. Urdu	Mr. R.A. Siddiqui
14. Law	Mr. M. Abdul Khaliq
15. Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
16. Botany	Dr. Rafi Ahmad
17. Zoology	Dr. M. Babar Mirza
18. Education	Mr. Kh. Ghulamus Saiyidain
19. European Languages	Mr. A.S.Khairi

1935-37¹⁵

1. English	Mr. H. Harris
2. History & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3. Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4. Phylosophy	Dr. Syed Zafrul Hasan
5. Physics	Dr. R.K Asundi
6. Chemistry	Dr. M. Hyder
7. Mathmatics	Mr. A.M. Qurieshy
8. Geography	Dr. I.R.Khan
9. Sunni Theology	Syed Sulaiman Ashraf
10. Shia Theology	Syed Sibte Nabi
11. Arabic	Dr. O. Spies
12. Persian	Dr. S. Hadi Hasan
13. Urdu	Mr. R.A. Siddiqui
14. Law	Mr. M. Abdul Khaliq
15. Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
16. Botany	Dr. Rafi Ahmad
17. Zoology	Dr. M. B. Mirza
18. Education	Mr. Kh. Ghulamus Saiyidain
19. Technical	M. Obaidullah Durrani
20. European Languages	Mr. A.S.Khairi
21. Gymnasium	Mr. Hamid Ali Khwaja

1939-40¹⁶

1. English	Mr. F.J. Fielden
2. History & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3. Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder

4. Phylosophy	Mr. M.M. Sharif
5. Physics	Dr. Mohammad Ishq
6. Chemistry	Mr. M. Hyder
7. Mathmatics	Mr. A.M. Qurieshy
8. Geography	Dr. I.R. Khan
9. Sunni Theology	Maulvi Abu Bakr Mohd. Shees
10. Shia Theology	Maulana Syed Mohd. Abid Shabbar
11. Arabic	Maulvi Abdul Aziz Memon
12. Persian	Dr. S. Hadi Hasan
13. Urdu	Mr. R.A. Siddiqui
14. Law	Mr. M. Abdul Khaliq
15. Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri
16. Botany	Dr. Rafique Ahmad Khan
17. Zoology	Dr. M. B. Mirza
18. Education	Mr. Ihtisham Ali
19. European Languages	Mr. Mohd. Abdus Sattar Khairi
20. Gymnasium	Mr. Hamid Ali Khwaja

1940-41¹⁷

1. English	Mr. F.J. Fielden
2. Histort & Pol. Science	Mr. A.B.A. Haleem
3. Economics	Dr. L.K. Hyder
4. Phylosophy	Dr. S. Z. Hasan
5. Physics	Dr. S. Sumuel
6. Chemistry	Mr. M. Hyder
7. Mathmatics	Mr. A.M. Qurieshy
8. Geography	S.M. Tahir Rizvi
9. Sunni Theology	Mufti Syed Abdul Latif
10. Shia Theology	Maulana Syed Mohd. Abid Shabbar
11. Arabic	Maulvi Abdul Aziz Memon
12. Persian	Dr. S. Hadi Hasan
13. Urdu	Mr. R.A. Siddiqui
14. Law	Dr. N.A. Siddiqui
15. Sanskrit	Pt. Ram Swarup Shastri

16. Botany	Dr. Rafique Ahmad
17. Zoology	Dr. M. B. Mirza
18. Education	Mr. Kh. Ghulamus Saiyidain
19. European Languages	Mr. Mohd. Abdur Sattar Khairi
19. European Language	Mr. A.S. Khairi
20. Gymnasium	Mr. Hamid Ali Khwaja
21. Technology	Mr. M. Obaidullah Durrani

(D) FACULTIES AND THEIR DEANS IN AMU

1944-47¹⁸

S.No.	Faculties	Deans
1	Theology	Nawab Sadar Yar Jang Bahadur
2	Arts	Dr. S.Z. Hasan
3.	Science	Dr. M.B. Mirza
4.	Engineering	K.B. Abdur Rahman

(E) RESULTS OF THE AMU EXAMINATION

1920-21¹⁹

Examinations	No of Candidates appeared	No of Candidates passed
Matric	11	6
Intermediate	23	13

1921-22²⁰

Matric	97	48 98
Intermediate	205	158
B. A.	103	70
B.Sc	8	6
Intermediate	6	3
Part III (Medical group)		
High School	225	144
Intermediate	301	237
BA & B.Sc.	154	128
M.A. & M.Sc	24	17
LLB (P)	59	42
Intermediate, Part III (Medical)	5	5

1923-24²¹

High School	577	253
Intermediate	503	243
BA & B.Sc.	236	185
M.A. & M.Sc	73	59
Law (P)	153	118
Law (F)	64	58
Intermediate, Part III	6	6
(Medical group)		
B.T.	29	Theory 24

Practice 27

C.T.	13	Theory 11
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Practice 11

J.T.	3	Theory 3
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Practice 3

1924-25²²

High School	656	404
Intermediate	542	364
B.A. & B.Sc	294	263
M.A. & M.Sc.	108	77
Law (P)	171	137
Law (F)	113	99
Intermediate, Part III	12	3
(Medical group)		
B.T.	49	Theory 45

Practice 41

C.T.	10	Theory 8
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Practice 8

1925-26²³

M.A.	124	77
M.Sc.		12

BA & B.Sc (Hons)	10	7
B.A. & B.Sc Pass	293	212
Intermediate	735	359
Intermediate	14	9
(Medical group)		
High School	1172	553
LLB (P)	220	153
LLB (F)	114	99
B.T.	60	Theory 50
C.T.	8	Practice 50
		Theory 8

Practice 8

1926-27²⁴

High School	916	447
Intermediate	810	455
B.A.	275	185
B.Sc	95	81
M.A.	128	88
M.Sc	7	6
Law (P)	205	104
Law (F)	184	128
B.T.	60	Theory 36

Practice 58

C.T.	10	Theory 9
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Practice 10

1927-28²⁵

High School	365	196
Junior School	93	49
(City School)		
Intermediate	755	418
Intermediate Part III	9	5
(Medical group)		
B.A. (Hons)	3	3
B.A. Pass	274	216
B.Sc. Pass	68	34

M.A.	103	59
M.Sc.	9	5
Law (P)	229	147
Law (F)	158	100
B.T.	59	Theory 48

Practice 52

C.T.	12	Theory 10
		Practice 12

1928-29²⁶

M.A.	70	47
M.Sc	13	9
B.A. (Hons)	1	1
B.Sc (Hons)	10	5
B.A (Pass)	265	210
B.Sc. (Pass)	67	52
Intermediate	543	304
High School	377	260
B.T. Theory	50	49
B.T. Practice	43	43
C.T. Theory	14	10
C.T. Practice	12	11
Law (P)	168	92
Law (F)	176	112

1930-31²⁷

M.A.	52	26
M.Sc.	10	6
B.A. (Hons)	5	1
B.Sc (Hons)	6	1
B.A. Pass	207	106
B.Sc Pass	207	106
Law (P)	84	46
Law (F)	84	70
B. Theology (P)	1	1
B.Theology (F)	1	1
Intermediate	244	106
High School	198	102

B.T. Theory	51	41
B.T. Practice	50	50
C.T. Theory	2	1
<i>1931-32²⁸</i>	42	33
M.Sc	17	12
B.A. (Hons)	8	4
B.Sc (Hons)	6	3
B.A (Pass)	158	99
B.Sc. (Passd)	39	26
Intermediate (Arts)	142	71
Intermediate (Science)	91	38
High School	203	113
B.T (Theory)	49	47
B.T. (Practice)	50	50
Law (P)	88	76
Law (F)	53	46
B. Theology (P) B.Th.	1	1
B. Theology (F) B.Th.	1	1
<i>1932-33²⁹</i>		
M.A.	46	30
M.Sc	29	27
B.A. (Hons)	7	7
B.Sc. (Hons)	5	5
B.A. (Pass)	134	99
B.Sc (Pass)	29	21
Intermediate (Arts)	150	88
Intermediate (Science)	123	67
High School	153	96
B.T. Theory	47	42
B.T. Practice	43	43
Law (P)	91	46
Law (F)	82	65
B.Th. (P)	7	7
B.Th. (F)	1	1
<i>1933-34³⁰</i>		
M.A.	67	44
M.Sc.	25	18
B.A. (Hons)	3	2

B.Sc.(Hons)	2	-
Intermediate (Arts)	150	73
Intermediate (Science)	131	71
High School	184	111
B.T. Theory	46	42
B.T. Practice	44	43
LLB (P)	107	66
LLB (F)	66	49
B.Th. (F)	4	4

1934-35³¹

M.A.	49	37
M.Sc.	28	23
B.A.(Hons)	4	4
B.Sc (Hons)	1	-
B.A (Pass)	138	103
B.Sc (Pass)	46	37
Intermediate (Arts)	144	96
High School	139	92
B.T. Theory	47	42
B.T. Practice	42	42
LLB. (P)	85	72
LLB (F)	68	59
B.Th. (P)	1	3
B.Th. (F)	3	3

1937-38³²

M.A. Full	8	5
M.A. (F)	96	82
M.Sc (F)	24	23
M.A (P)	129	112
M.Sc. (P)	31	30
B.A (Hons)	3	3
B.A. (Pass)	220	181
B.Sc (Pass)	71	51
Intermediate (Arts)	201	158
Intermediate (Science)	138	92
High School	174	152
B.T (Theory)	57	56
B.T. (Practice)	54	53

LLB. (P)	162	135
LLB (F)	141	127
B.Th. (P)	3	3
B.Th (F)	1	1
1938-39¹³		
M.A.(F)	112	58
M.Sc (F)	27	27
M.A. (P)	161	108
M.Sc (P)	19	15
B.A. (Hons)	3	3
B.Sc (Hons)	4	3
B.A. (Pass)	134	119
B.Sc. (Pass)	68	45
Intermediate (Arts)	235	183
Intermediate (Science)	142	100
High School	287	208
B.T. (Theory)	68	67
B.T. (Practice)	68	8
LLB. (P)	148	105
LLB (F)	137	91
B.Th (P)	2	2
B.Th (F)	3	3
Ph.D (Philosophy & History)	2	2
1939-40¹⁴		
M.A. (F)	99	90
M.Sc (F)	22	20
M.A. (P)	183	150
M.Sc. (P)	87	25
B.A. (Hons)	6	4
B.A. (Pass)	187	131
B.Sc. (Pass)	73	49
Intermediate (Arts)	214	170
Intermediate (Science)	113	85
High School	292	196
B.T. (Theory)	71	70
B.T. (Practice)	70	70
LLB. (P)	172	135
LLB (F)	138	124

B.Th. (P)	2	2
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1941-42³⁵

M.A. (F)	129	127
M.Sc (F)	23	23
M.A. (P)	189	151
M.Sc. (P)	35	27
B. A. (Hons)	9	8
B.A. (Pass)	162	199
B.Sc. (Pass)	71	53
Intermediate (Arts)	142	164
Intermediate (Science)	213	131
High School	413	251
B.T. (Theory)	81	80
LLB. (P)	188	116
LLB. (F)	125	114
BTh. (T)	5	5
B.Th. (F)	1	1
B.Sc (Engg. 1st year)	41	32
Ph. D	2	2

(F) STRENGTH OF THE AMU (1921-47)

(i) Excluding Allied Institutions³⁶

Year	Strength
1920-21	261
1921-22	data not available
1922-23	392
1923-24	882
1924-25	1005
1926-27	1174
1927-28	1152
1928-29	1170
1929-30	885
1930-31	697
1931-32	552
1932-33	1081
1933-34	1141
1934-35	1241

1935-36	1459
1936-37	data not available
1937-38	..
1938-39	1442
1939-40	data not available
1940-41	2077
1941-42	2375
1942-43	2384
1943-44	2641
1944-45	3505
1945-46	4399
1946-47	data not available

(ii) Including Allied institutions³⁷

1921-22	966
1922-23	1139
1923-24	1864
1924-25	2253
1925-26	2737
1926-27	2923
1927-28	2917
1928-29	data not available
1929-30	..
1930-31	..
1931-32	..
1932-33	..
1933-34	..
1934-35	..
1935-36	..
1936-37	..
1937-38	..
1938-39	..
1939-40	..
1940-41	..
1941-42	..
1942-43	..
1943-44	..
1944-45	5056
1945-46	6061

1946-47	5896
1947-48	4613

(G) STRENGTH OF THE TEACHING STAFF IN 1922-23

(*Departmentswise*)²⁸

S. No.	Departments
No. of the Teaching Staff	
1. English	5
2. History	3
3. Economic	2
4. Phylosophy	2
5. Physics	4
6. Chernistry	4
7. Mathmatics	3
8. Geography	1
9. Sunni Theology	2
10. Shia Theology	2
11. Islamic Studies	-
12. Arabic	2
13. Persian	2
14. Urdu	2
15. Law	2
16. Sanskrit}	
17. Botany	Under contemplation

(H) NO OF FACULTIES AND DEPARTMENTS OF STUDIES IN

AMU IN 1947²⁹

S.No. Faculty	S.No Deptt.
1. Faculty of Arts	(1) English
	(2) Economics
	(3) Philosophy
	(4) History
	and Poltical Science
	(5) Arabic
	(6) Persian
	(7) Urdu
	(8) Sanskrit
	(9) Education
	(10) Commerce
2. Faculty of Science:	(1) Zoology

	(2)	Physics
	(3)	Chemistry
	(4)	Botany
	(5)	Mathmatics
	(6)	Geography
	(7)	Agriculture
	(8)	Tibbiya College
	(9)	Military Deptt.
3.	Faculty of Engineering	
4.	Facutly of Theology	
5.	Other Departments:	
	(1)	Women's College
	(2)	Girls High School
	(3)	University High School
	(4)	University City School

(I) LIST OF THE HOLIDAYS IN AMU IN 1930- 31⁴²

S. No.	Name of the Holidays	No. of the Days
1.	New Years Day	1
2	Shab-i-Barat	2
3.	Lailat-ul-Qadar	1
4.	Jumatul-Wida	1
5.	Eid-ul-Fitr	3
6.	Holi	1
7.	Easter Holidays	4
8.	Youmul Haj	1
9.	Eid-uz-Zoha	1
10.	Eid-i-Ghadir	1
11.	Empire Day	1
12.	K.E. Birthday	1
13.	Moharram	12
14.	Chahum	1
15.	Bara Wafat	1
16.	Salono	1
17.	Yezdehum Sharif	1
18.	Dashera	2
19.	Autumn Vacation	16
		(3rd Oct-18 Oct. Sir Syed Day Falls in 17 Oct.)
20.	Dewali	1

21. Roumi wiladat Hazrat Ali	1
22. M.U. Inauguration Day	1
23. Rajbi Sharif	1
24. Christmas	8

Reference

1. *Past and Present*, p. 197
2. *Ibid*, p. 198
3. *Ibid*, p. 199
4. *Name Board of the Vice-Chancellor* (AMU Union Hall)
5. *Name Board of the Honorary Secretaries* (AMU Union Hall)
6. *Name Board of the Honorary Librarian* (AMU Union Hall)
7. *Name Board of the Honorary life Members* (AMU Union Hall)
8. *AMU Calender*, 1921-25, pp. 104-107
9. *Ibid*, pp. 108-117
10. *Ibid*, pp. 117-126
11. *File No. IV/1/2, 1927-28* (AA)
12. *File No. 51, 1929-30* (AA)
13. *File No. IV/2, 1931-32* (AA)
14. *File No. 51, 1932-33* (AA)
15. *File No. IV/1, 1935-36* (AA)
16. *Ibid*, 1936-37 *File No. IV, 197-38* (AA)
17. *File No. IV/1, 1940-41* (AA)
18. *Ibid*, See also *File No. 4, 1940-41* (AA)
19. *File No. 51, 1945-46* (AA)
20. *Ibid*, 1924-25
21. *File No. 51, 1924-25* (AA)
22. *Ibid*
23. *File No. IV/1, 1924-25* (AA)
24. *File No. 51, 1924-25* (AA)
25. *File No. IV/1, 1926-27* (AA)
26. *Ibid*, 1927-28
27. *File No. 51, 1928-29* (AA)
28. *File No. 78/4, 1929-30* (AA)
29. *File No. IV/2, 1931-32* (AA) See also *File No. 51, 1931-32* (AA)
30. *File No. IV/2, 1931-32* (AA) See also *File No. 51, 1931-32* (AA)
31. *Ibid*, See also *File No. 51, 1933-34* (AA) and *AMU Annual Report, 1933*
32. *File No. 51, 1934-35* (AA) See also *AMU Annual Report, 1934*
33. *Ibid*, 1935-36, See also *AMU Annual Report, 1934*

34. *Ibid.* 1938-39
 35. *Ibid.* 1939-40
 36. *AMU Annual Report*, 1940
 37. *File No. 51, 1941-42 (AA)*
 38. *Yearswise AMU Annual Register, Proceedings of the AMU Court and Files (AA)*
 39. *Ibid*
 40. *Proceeding of the first Annual Meeting of the AMU Court (22 Oct. 1922) (AA)*
 41. *AMU Annual Report 1947*
 42. *File No. 4 (I) 1930-31 (AA)*

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- *Dept. Home-Political, Call-210-216 & KW. Dec.-A-1920 (NAI)*
 - *Dept. Home-political, Call-59-Dec.-Deposit-1920 (NAI)*

<i>File No R.R. 26</i>	<i>(Police)</i>	<i>(UPSAL)</i>
	<i>241/1930</i>	
	<i>606/36</i>	
	<i>151/1930</i>	
	<i>S.No. 16/3</i>	
	<i>6/1919-24</i>	
	<i>555/1936</i>	<i>GAD</i>
<i>File No. XX/45</i>	<i>1920-21</i>	<i>(AA)</i>
<i>XX/42</i>	<i>192021</i>	"
<i>I</i>	<i>1920-21</i>	"
<i>XV/2</i>	<i>1923-24</i>	"
<i>II/7</i>	<i>1922-23</i>	"
<i>IV/1</i>	<i>1924-25</i>	"
<i>XV/3</i>	<i>1925-26</i>	"
<i>IV/1</i>	<i>1926-27</i>	"
<i>IV/1/2</i>	<i>1927-28</i>	"
<i>XVII/2</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	"
<i>IV/2</i>	<i>1931-32</i>	"

<i>IV/I</i>	<i>1935-36</i>	“
<i>IV/I</i>	<i>1936-37</i>	“
<i>IV/I</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	“
<i>4</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	“
<i>4</i>	<i>1942-23</i>	“
<i>15</i>	<i>1920-21</i>	“
<i>4/2(I)</i>	<i>1924-25</i>	“
<i>78/3</i>	<i>1927-28</i>	“
<i>4(I)</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1924-25</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1926-27</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1927-28</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1928-29</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1929-30</i>	“
<i>51/(I)</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1931-32</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1932-33</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1933-34</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1934-35</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1935-36</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1936-37</i>	“
<i>82</i>	<i>1936-37</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1937-38</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1938-39</i>	“
<i>62</i>	<i>1938-44</i>	“
<i>79</i>	<i>1938-39</i>	“
<i>41/3</i>	<i>1939-40</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1939-40</i>	“
<i>53/4</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1941-42</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1942-43</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1943-44</i>	“
<i>51</i>	<i>1945-46</i>	“
<i>41/1</i>	<i>1943-44</i>	“

Name Boards and Registers of AMU Students Union

-Name of Board of the Vice Presidents (Union Hall AMU)

-Name of Board of the Honorary Secretaries

-	<i>IX/29</i>	<i>1933-34</i>	**
-	<i>IV/1</i>	<i>1935-36</i>	**
-	<i>IV/1</i>	<i>1936-37</i>	**
-	<i>IV/1</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	**
-	<i>4</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	**
-	<i>4</i>	<i>1942-23</i>	**
-	<i>15</i>	<i>1920-21</i>	**
-	<i>4/2(1)</i>	<i>1924-25</i>	**
-	<i>78/3</i>	<i>1927-28</i>	**
-	<i>4(1)</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1924-25</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1926-27</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1927-28</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1928-29</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1929-30</i>	**
-	<i>51/(1)</i>	<i>1930-31</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1931-32</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1932-33</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1933-34</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1934-35</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1935-36</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1936-37</i>	**
-	<i>82</i>	<i>1936-37</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1937-38</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1938-39</i>	**
-	<i>62</i>	<i>1938-44</i>	**
-	<i>79</i>	<i>1938-39</i>	**
-	<i>41/3</i>	<i>1939-40</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1939-40</i>	**
-	<i>53/4</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1940-41</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1941-42</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1942-43</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1943-44</i>	**
-	<i>51</i>	<i>1945-46</i>	**
-	<i>41/1</i>	<i>1943-44</i>	**

Name Boards and Registers of AMU Students Union

-Name of Board of the Vice Presidents (Union Hall AMU)

-Name of Board of the Honorary Secretaries

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